Dynamics of Identity and Space in Higher Education: An Institutional Ethnographic Case Study of a Transforming University

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Abstract

Higher education globally is characterised by persistent inequality, which is particularly acute in South Africa. Due to the enduring legacy of colonialism and apartheid, students from certain categories of identity are marginalised, whereas others are privileged. An essential element of these dynamics of power is space. Intersections of identity such as race, class, ability and gender are axes of power in differential experiences of space. Despite this, space is often neglected in research into higher education transformation in South Africa. Through an institutional ethnography, this study examines the dynamics of space and identity at the University of Cape Town (UCT). The study involved a photovoice project, roving interviews and surveys with students; the collection of multimodal data in which space is documented; campus observations; and semi-structured interviews with staff and policymakers. The first analysis chapter involves a multimodal discourse analysis of the identity discourses produced for the Jameson Plaza by the students in the study, specifically as *a place of belonging and connection* and *a place of alienation and discomfort*. The second analysis chapter examines the institutional power geometries at play at the UCT across three specific dimensions: 1) spatial memory and material familiarity; 2) material campus symbolism; and 3) spatialised social practices and relations. The findings illustrate how space and power across these dimensions engender experiences of spatialised belonging or spatialised alienation on campus. The affective potentialities of campus, in turn, influence the types of identities students construct for themselves across campus space. Emerging from these considerations, the final analysis chapter explores what student do across, within and through campus spaces. The chapter focuses on everyday use of space by students at the individual level, and specifically spatial coping strategies students use to negotiate and manage their daily lives on campus.

Keywords: space, identity, affect, higher education, institutional ethnography, transformation

Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to the Department of Psychology at the University of Cape Town, Cape Town. I have used the APA 7th edition convention for citation and referencing. This dissertation has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in this or any other University.

Signed by candidate

Signature: Date: 18 October 2020

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Chapter One: Introduction

The power of education to make the world a better place is widely lauded in global discourse. Education is positioned as a system that can reduce poverty, promote gender equality, foster peace, lead to economic growth, combat disease and address other global development goals (Nicolai et al., 2016; UIS, 2018; UNESCO, 2015). However, in reality, the education system is characterised by persistent and inherent inequality (Boliver, 2017; Unterhalter & Carpentier, 2010) and is reflective of colonial relations of power for the continued benefit of the elite (Connell, 2016; Dancy, Edwards, & Davis, 2018). This system of inequality manifests in who can access higher education, but also, crucially, in which students are privileged once they are enrolled within higher education institutions. Therefore, in seeking to understand higher education inequality, experience *within* this system must be considered in addition to access *to* the system (Howell & Lazarus, 2003). Inequality persists despite widening participation from diverse groups of students (Anderson & Williams, 2001; Cosser, 2018; Gallacher & Parry, 2017; Howell & Lazarus, 2003). In South Africa, education inequality is particularly deep-rooted. To fit within the global market, universities in the Global South often adhere to neocolonial logic and engage in institutional practices embedded within colonial legacies (Gyamera & Burke, 2017).

1.1 The South African Higher Education Landscape

The South African higher education landscape is marked by the enduring legacy of colonialism and apartheid when education was used to control indigenous people and support white supremacy (le Grange, 2016; Sehoole, 2006; Young & Campbell, 2014). Since the establishment of democracy in 1994, the national government has introduced policies to redress the colonial and apartheid inequalities and oppressions entrenched within the higher education system. Notable examples are the Education White Paper 3 (South Africa,

Department of Education (DoE), 1997) and the National Plan for Higher Education (South Africa, Department of Education (DoE), 2001; Cloete, 2002a; Odhav, 2009). These national policies, as well as those developed by individual universities at an institutional level, promised social justice, redress and equity; however, their actual implementation has been inadequate. Despite these policies, the transformation of the higher education landscape is incomplete, contested and fragmented. Theorists have variously described this fraught situation as "profoundly wrong", (Mbembe, 2016, p. 32), "on the knife's edge" (Muswede, 2017, p. 202) and "a crisis of education" (Badat, 2016, p. 3). In many cases, these transformation policies have failed to shift, or have even actively obscured and reproduced entrenched historical privilege and power relations (Heleta, 2016; Muswede, 2017; South African Human Rights Commission, 2016; Vincent, 2015; Walker, 2005a, 2005b). Critics have suggested several reasons for this mismatch between practice and policy (Soudien et al., 2008). Some have proposed that it is perhaps due to a lack of institutional will (Heleta, 2016; Soudien et al., 2008), or the vagueness of the national policy framework, which has allowed individual institutions to develop "isolationist tendencies that have further propagated exclusionary practices of the apartheid system" (Muswede, 2017, p. 208). Others have argued that there is no "uniform unwillingness" (Badat, 2016, p. 8) and highlighted that individual departments and academics within institutions may be engendering transformative practices (Morreira, 2017).

Part of the problem may be that these national and institutional policies are framed within broader social and economic processes, such as globalisation and neoliberalism, which contradict many of the goals of transformation and seek to entrench the privilege and power of the global elite (Badat, 2016; Gyamera & Burke, 2017; le Grange, 2016; Mbembe, 2016; Pithouse, 2006). The concept of 'transformation' in the higher education landscape has generally been "hollowed out" to encompass a focus on numbers; specifically, on the

changing demographics of student bodies, although comparatively less attention has been paid to the demographics of academic staff (Badat, 2016, p. 7). The widening participation of a more diverse group of students in higher education is seen as one of the most significant transformation successes to date. Increases in the proportion of black[1] students admitted to tertiary institutions is undoubtedly essential (Cloete, 2002b). However, concerns have been raised about the nuances of these demographic changes, which have been described as a "skewed" and "stalled" revolution (see Cooper, 2015a). A paramount concern is the throughput and support of black students once they are accepted into undergraduate degrees (Cosser, 2018; Mamdani, 2016; Petersen et al. 2009; Ramrathan, 2016). Only 55% of the students who enrol in contact universities for three-year degrees graduate within five years of beginning their degrees (CHE, 2018). As Vincent (2015) asserts:

> Changes at the level of policy, leadership and demographics have not seemed to coincide with change to an equivalent extent in the way the institutions 'feel'. Somehow the past with its ways of violence, discrimination, exclusion and inequality, is being reproduced in the present (p. 25).

Baillie et al. (2019) similarly suggest that "the unhomely shadow that follows black bodies around in these spaces is a long one that cannot simply be overcome through admission and recruitment policies" (p. 135). The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC)[2] held a national public hearing examining the state of transformation in higher education in South Africa, and their report on this hearing concludes that, despite some transformation successes, "patterns of systemic exclusion, marginalisation and discrimination persist"

[1] Throughout this dissertation when discussing the South African context I use the term 'black' in the inclusive sense to refer to individuals historically classified under apartheid as 'black African', 'coloured', and 'Indian', unless I am specifically referencing these particular apartheid categories. When I refer to literature drawn from other contexts, I employ the terms used by the authors. While I acknowledge that racial categories such as 'black' and 'white' are socially constructed, discriminatory products of oppressive systems of racial classification, I use these terms to reflect the social and structural divisions and material inequalities that exist worldwide.

[2] A constitutionally-mandated, Chapter 9 institution established in 1995 under the Human Rights Commission Act 54 of 1994 to support South African democracy.

(SAHRC, 2016, p. viii). As the wave of widespread student movements that swept South Africa between 2015 and 2018 indicated, there have not been sustained changes wrought on the Euro-American-centric, hetero-patriarchal, middle-class, white, cisgendered, and able-bodied status quo within the dominant institutional cultures of most South African higher education institutions (Badat, 2016; Barnes, 2006; Donaldson, 2015; Howell, 2006; Howell & Lazarus, 2003; Kiguwa & Langa, 2017; Matthyse, 2017; McKinney & Swartz, 2020; Morreira, 2017; Msibi, 2013; SAHRC, 2016; Steyn & van Zyl, 2001; Reygan, 2018; Suransky & van der Merwe, 2016; Walker, 2005a, 2016). These student movements, which started with the RhodesMustFall (RMF) movement at UCT (Maxwele, 2016) and quickly spread to other institutions across the country and internationally (Elgot, 2016), have centred on calls to decolonise or Africanise (rather than 'transform') higher education (Badat, 2016; Davids, 2016; Naicker, 2016). Amongst other issues, these movements have problematised the demographic composition of academic staff, the outsourcing of non-academic workers within institutions, and rising tuition fees, and have called for free higher education (Badat, 2016). Certain groups within these movements, such as the Trans Collective, have also highlighted the importance of addressing issues of gender and sexuality (in addition to race) when decolonising higher education and challenging hetero-patriarchy (Omar, 2016; Reygan, 2018).

1.2 Higher Education, Identity and Space

One way of understanding these power dynamics and examining these processes of inclusion and exclusion is through an exploration of identities within higher education institutions. Universities are important sites of identity work (Kamsteeg, 2016; Soudien, 2008). As Soudien (2008) remarks, "the character of the university … produces particular identity outcomes, particularly amongst people who have existed on the margins of privilege

who work with their identities and have their identities worked upon in a range of interesting ways" (p. 674). For many students, their time at university can be a particularly formative period in their transition towards adulthood; thus the identities they construct for themselves during this time have the potential to shape their future experiences and beliefs (Andersson, et al., 2012). The identities that university students negotiate and articulate are heterogeneous and impacted by a range of influences. These student identities are simultaneously "embodied and spatialised and performed strategically in order to gain acceptance or social recognition among peers" (Holton, 2017, p. 77). Student identities are thus not merely a discrete phase, but an "intricate collection of different identities that adapt as students' appreciation of their term-time location changes, and they are introduced to new spaces" (Holton, 2017, pp. 78-79). However, within higher education institutions identities are differentially privileged. Much can be learnt about universities from the identities constructed by the students within them, and the stories students tell about these varying identities. Additionally, much can be illuminated about the processes of dominance and subordination from the stories a university tells about its own identity. Research is needed that captures and examines the identity stories of both students and institutions, through participatory and innovative methods (Vincent, 2015).

However, an important element of these dynamics of power and identity in universities, which is not often considered, is space (Cox et al., 2012). Humans are embodied beings existing within space, and thus our identities are spatially contingent, and not constructed and developed within physical vacuums (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006; Paechter, 2004). People's identities are always influenced by the historically determined places and spaces they regularly occupy (Durrheim, 2005). Furthermore, space is rarely neutral and instead always already racialised, sexualised, gendered and classed, and 'identified' in other ways. These intersections of identity are axes of power in individuals' differential experience

of space (Durrheim, 2005; Massey, 1994; Valentine, 2001; Von Brömssen & Risenfors, 2014).

Thus, in seeking to understand identity and processes of inclusion and exclusion in education contexts, it is vital to consider the space in which identities are formed and sustained (Paechter, 2004). The spatial dimensions of universities play a pivotal role in many of the practices, processes and power dynamics that form part of the everyday functioning of the institution, and are central to the ordering of students' experiences (Burke, 2018; Temple, 2014). For example, through physical space, education institutions send out messages about the dominant hierarchical structures on campus. As Dixon and Janks (2018) assert, "architecture produces material forms that endure, imbued with the ideologies of the past that are carried forward into the present and on into the future" (p. 107). Buildings, as semiotic objects, are "institutional forms of collective meaning-making" (Wood, 2020, p. 466). The ordering of higher education space reproduces certain power relations and formations of difference (Burke, 2018; Costello, 2001; Cox et al., 2012; Cox, 2011).

At the same time, space is always open to re-negotiation and re-configuration (Cox, 2011; Massey, 1994). Students are in a reciprocal relationship with the higher education landscapes that they occupy, and although students' identities may be shaped by the different spaces at different times, they can also change, challenge or reproduce normative spaces (Muñoz, 2009; Nast & Pile, 1998). There is a "constant, subtle interplay between space and the people in it" (Temple, 2014, p. xxvii). Neither space nor the identities of the people who occupy it are stable, singular or permanent (Massey, 1994; Valentine, 2001), but instead are in a mutually "constitutive state of becoming" (Acton, 2017, p. 4). For example, transgender student activists at UCT physically removed the 'male' and 'female' signs from bathroom doors to create gender-neutral bathrooms. The RMF movement began symbolically with calls for the removal of the statue of the colonialist Cecil John Rhodes. Through these students'

actions, the statue was removed and space on campus was altered. Students in the FeesMustFall (FMF) protests similarly used campus space to resist the exclusionary institutional culture of higher education (Dixon & Janks, 2018). They barricaded entrances to university campuses and buildings, and they staged mass sit-ins and occupations of various campus spaces (Petersen & Mzantsi, 2015). These examples illustrate that in changing and disrupting institutional space, it may be possible for students to transform and resist relations of power and structural inequalities.

1.3 Conceptualisations of Space in this Study

It is perhaps useful to begin by defining how space is understood in this study. Definitions and meanings of space are political, as they are always underpinned by the dominant ideologies of the time, with profound social and material implications (Massey, 2005). How space is defined and used is often an important site of political struggle and activism (Neely & Samura, 2011), and profoundly impacts how students experience higher education (Tumubweinee & Luescher, 2019). University buildings, the spaces between and within them, and their material components are often seen as "merely the blank canvas on which the organisational and intellectual life of the institution is painted" (Temple, 2014, p. xxvi). In higher education policy in South Africa specifically, space is most commonly understood as an "object in transformation…'a thing' devoid of agency" (Tumubweinee & Luescher, 2019, p. 10). Such a conceptualisation of space, as an object to be filled, ignores the role of space in the constitution of social relations and the socio-political influence of space within the transformation process (Tumubweinee & Luescher, 2019).

Drawing on a tradition of critical approaches to space (see Kobayashi 2005; Massey 1994, 2005; Neely & Samura 2011; Rose, 1993), in this dissertation I understand 'space' as both material and socially produced and productive; as fluid, open to negotiation, and yet also

rooted in layers of historical meaning. I consider space as infused with power and power relations as implicitly spatialised; and importantly, I hold that discourses, meanings and experiences inform ways of making, negotiating and organising space. From these conceptualisations of space, I then understand 'places' as "formed out of the particular set of social relations which interact at a particular location" (Massey, 1994, p. 168). Places are continually reproduced environments-in-the-making (Knowles, 2003; Massey, 1994), which must be actively imagined and invented (Matus & Talburt, 2009).

Looking specifically then at higher education space, in defining 'university space' in this dissertation, I draw on Samura's (2015, 2016a, 2016b) conceptualisation of 'college space' as encompassing "existing practices, norms, and environments established by institutional policies and student culture" (Samura, 2016a, p. 126). University space is constituted through the interplay between past and present discourses of higher education, as well as the relationships and interactions between the people within the higher education institutions (e.g., students, staff, alumni) and the material, concrete, physical environment (e.g., buildings, landscapes, classrooms, artwork) (Samura, 2016a). Such university spaces are both produced by, and co-producing of educational realities, and educational spaces and student subjectivities are in a dialectical relationship (Robertson, 2010; Tumubweinee & Luescher, 2019). Such a conceptualisation of university space may allow for an empirically grounded understanding of the daily lived reality of higher education institutions (Tumubweinee & Luescher, 2019).

1.4 Motivation

Continued research on the contested, ongoing, and fluctuating higher education transformation process is vital. Unless higher education practices are continually challenged and explored, there is unlikely to be any rapid or sustained change to existing systems of

privilege and oppression within higher education (Watson & Widen, 2015). Spatial theorisation can offer a valuable contribution to critical research into higher education that seeks to interrogate these dominant arrangements and systems (Brooks et al., 2012; Ferrare & Apple, 2010; Gildersleeve & Kutnz, 2011; Gulson & Symes, 2007; Muñoz, 2009; Samura, 2016ab; Temple, 2014). A spatial focus can help to rearticulate and reframe existing problems in higher education research, while at the same time exposing taken-for-granted assumptions and processes that have yet to be interrogated (Brooks et al., 2012; Ferrare & Apple, 2010). Foregrounding space as the primary means of understanding higher education practices and processes may "provoke more revolutionary and liberatory opportunities for social change" (Gildersleeve & Kuntz, 2011, p. 22). Critical education research with social justice aims should explore the possibility for change through the interruption, altering and troubling of spatial relations (Thomson, 2007). As Robertson (2010) argues, spatial theorising offers the potential for the emergence of an "alternative, differently constituted, social space, constructed out of ideas about being and becoming, that might, in turn, mediate the full onslaught of the social relations of global capitalism" (p. 25). Understanding space and what it does is crucial for understanding how universities work, and ultimately for determining how they may be transformed into more welcoming spaces (Dixon & Janks, 2018; Temple, 2014).

Spatial and material considerations are particularly important in the South African higher education context. As Vincent (2015) suggests, "the continued legacies of apartheid and colonialism are perhaps most concretely felt in built environments, architecture, urban planning, monuments and other physical artefacts, design and physical planning choices" of South African universities (p. 35). This colonial and apartheid legacy in the material environment has consequences for the intellectual life of the university as well as for the students and staff whose everyday realities take place within this architecture (Mbembe,

2016). Dixon and Janks (2018) assert that "how space is constructed, by whom, for whom, for what purpose, and according to whose normative expectations, is, therefore, an important social issue with particular relevance for both education and transformation" (p. 91). Changes to university architecture and spatial arrangements are essential for the decolonisation of South African higher education (Fomunyam, 2017). As Tumubweinee and Luescher (2019) suggest, "space and space-related concerns should have a prominent place in policy on higher education transformation" (p. 10).

Despite the importance of considering space when seeking to transform South African universities, within the extensive body of research on higher education in South Africa there has typically been limited detailed and sustained theorisation of space and materiality that is not metaphorical or symbolic (Vincent, 2015). However, in recent theorising, there is increasing recognition of the need to consider space (see Dixon & Janks, 2018; Laubscher, 2019; Tumubweinee & Luescher, 2019), and scholars have called for future work to examine how the students and staff who use university spaces and places perceive and experience them (Laubscher, 2019). It is in response to this need for continued critical examination of the role of space in the transformation processes at South African universities that this study emerged. This dissertation seeks to contribute to the growing body of work aiming to examine higher education space in South Africa with a particular focus on the interplay between spaces, places and identities. This study, with its critical exploration of the higher education landscape through the examination of identity and space, is relevant particularly in light of the recent, widespread student protests in South Africa and is intended to contribute to the process of higher education transformation in South Africa.

1.5 Specific Aims and Research Questions

The study was broadly concerned with the dynamics of space and identity at a previously 'white-only' South African university, the University of Cape Town, in the context of a contested, ongoing and incomplete transformation process. Specifically, through an institutional ethnographic case study, the study aimed to understand how space can influence students' constructions of their intersecting identities, as well as how students might change, negotiate and produce varied identities for university spaces and places. The project was concerned with answering the following questions related to these aims:

- What identities are constructed and produced for university spaces and places?
- How does campus space influence students' identities?
- What are the affective consequences of these particular identity constructions for students?
- How do university students use, navigate, manage and change campus spaces?

1.6 Outline of the Dissertation

The dissertation comprises eight chapters. This chapter introduced and contextualised the study and presented the specific aims and research questions. Chapter Two begins with an overview of the existing body of literature on higher education transformation in South Africa. The chapter then offers a general introduction into spatial research in education and proceeds to outline some of the theoretical trends in the international and then specifically South African body of research that has considered space and education. Chapter Three describes the study methodology, an institutional ethnographic case study, and gives the rationale behind the various components of this chosen design. Chapter Four situates the higher education institution under study, the University of Cape Town, and provides detailed background on this university to help contextualise the analysis chapters to follow. Chapters

Five, Six and Seven present the findings of this study, examining the identities constructed for university places; the institutional power geometries at play at this university and their influence on students' identities and affective experiences; and, students' use, navigation and adaptation of campus spaces, respectively. Chapter Eight summarises the study and synthesises the findings of the research. This chapter concludes with a reflection on the implications of the findings for the ongoing and incomplete process of higher education transformation in South Africa.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part provides an overview of some of the diverse themes explored within the extensive literature on higher education transformation in South Africa. The second part examines the specific focus of this dissertation within the higher education transformation literature: space. This part provides a general introduction to spatial research methodology and then outlines some ways in which higher education research has employed spatial analysis or considered spatial dimensions, internationally and then specifically within the South African context.

2.1 Research into Higher Education Transformation in South Africa

Research into the transformation of the higher education landscape after the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa is well established. Over almost three decades, much of the academic writing on higher education in South Africa has explored and reflected on the ongoing transformation process (e.g. Barnes, 2006; Jansen, 2003; le Grange, 2011; Ramose, 2003; van Wyk, 2003). Scholars active within this field at times refer to 'Africanising' or 'decolonising' higher education rather than, or alongside, 'transformation' (e.g. Kaya & Seleti, 2013; Letsekha, 2013; Louw, 2010; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013; Nyamnjoh, 2012). The concept of decolonising education has been increasingly drawn on by students, academics and higher education institutions in South Africa to denote a wide range of concerns around institutional, curricular, economic, and pedagogical redress (Morreira et al., 2020). This work is sometimes discipline-specific, such as the body of research on decolonising psychology in South Africa (e.g. Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018; Kessi & Kiguwa, 2015; Ratele, 2017). This research is situated within the decolonial turn, which encompasses a range of theoretical positions that consider coloniality as "a fundamental problem in the modern (as well as

postmodern and information) age", and view decolonisation as an essential but unfinished task (Maldonado-Torres, 2011, p. 2).

The student movements of 2015 onwards which took the decolonisation of higher education institutions as one of their central goals, have reinvigorated interest in this topic, resulting in a growth in rigorous academic reflection on the decolonisation of higher education (e.g. Heleta, 2016; Fomunyam, 2017; le Grange, 2016; Mamdani, 2016; Mbembe, 2016; Murris, 2016; Muswede, 2017). In any case, whether theorists draw explicitly on decolonial theory, are concerned with the concept of 'Africanisation', or refer more broadly to 'transformation', much work and debate have been focused on various forms of educational redress and change.

More specifically, within the broader themes of the transformation, decolonisation or Africanisation of higher education in South Africa, research has focused on a range of areas, some of which will be outlined below. Often these research focuses will be interrelated and not as clear cut or distinctive as they are in the following outline. For example, a study of institutional culture may consider curriculum as one of many facets (e.g. Fourie, 1999), or research may be explicitly focused on curriculum considerations (e.g. le Grange, 2016). Nonetheless, this review aims to outline some of the key work in these areas as relevant to this study.

2.1.1 Institutional Demographics

As was discussed in Chapter One, institutional transformation policies and initiatives have frequently been mainly focused on changing student demographics and widening participation in higher education to a more diverse group of students. Consequently, research has been concerned with quantifying and understanding changing student demographics within higher education institutions (e.g. Cooper, 2015a; Cooper & Subotzky, 2001;

Govinder et al., 2013). Cooper (2015a), for example, takes an in-depth look at student enrolment data for 1998-2012. Cooper concludes that the increasing participation of black students in higher education has been skewed across institutions. Historically 'white-only' technikons and historically 'coloured-only' universities and technikons have seen an increase in the enrolment of black students; but there has been a far smaller increase in black students' enrolment at historically 'white-only' universities. Furthermore, he suggests that post-2000, this increase in enrolment has stalled.

Some research has also been concerned with the demographics of academic staff, and the paucity of black academic staff, particularly at historically 'white-only' universities (Breetzke & Hedding, 2018; Mabokela, 2000; Thaver, 2003). A large five-year study of students enrolled in historically 'white-only' institutions between 2013 and 2017 indicated that most of these students' lecturers were still white (Swartz et al., 2017). A recent analysis of staff demographic data from 2005-2015 drawn from the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) also showed that 49% of academic staff in South Africa are white (Breetzke & Hedding, 2018). However, their analysis indicates that the percentage of black academic staff in South Africa has increased, from 26% in 2005 to 35% in 2015. Despite this gradual but promising increase, a closer look reveals a lack of black academics at the professorial level, with black academics comprising only 23% of associate professors and 15% of professors in 2015. Furthermore, black female academics are still the most underrepresented group, at only 14% of all academic staff in 2015.

Within research on student and staff demographics, so-called race-based admissions or affirmative action policies have also been a critical point of interest. These policies have been used by some South African higher education institutions in an attempt to redress past inequalities and engender demographic change of student bodies. They have been met with fierce debate (see Benatar, 2010; Bitzer, 2010; Price, 2013; Soudien, 2010). These debates

often involve ambivalent discourses of transformation, which stigmatise black students by holding the increasing numbers of black students responsible for 'lowering standards' in universities (Cornell & Kessi, 2017). The vehemence and intensity of the debate around admissions policies have waned somewhat in the last few years, perhaps as public attention and discussion have shifted towards student movements and related issues such as the calls for free higher education.

2.1.2 Institutional Culture

While the body of research described above has focused on the numerical representation of transformation with regard to changing demographics, other research has considered aspects of higher education that may remain exclusionary despite more representative student bodies. Institutional culture, in particular, has been a central focus of research on transformation in higher education (e.g. Higgins, 2007; Suransky & van der Merwe, 2016; Steyn & van Zyl, 2001; Tabensky & Matthews, 2015). 'Institutional culture' refers to the dominant practices, values and traditions within an institution (Swartz et al., 2017). Although some have critiqued the term as being too vague to hold theoretical value, South African theorists have also argued that "we clearly ignore the influence of institutional cultures at our peril" (Schendel, 2018, p. 146). In South African literature, this somewhat tenuous term is broadly defined as a contested social reality (Higgins, 2007; Suransky & van der Merwe, 2016; Vincent, 2015). It is often used to refer to the dominance of systems of 'whiteness' in higher education institutions (Higgins, 2007). For example, some theorists have concluded that UCT has a culture of 'whiteness' (Steyn & van Zyl, 2001), and my earlier work has drawn similar conclusions (see Cornell & Kessi, 2017; Kessi & Cornell, 2015). Institutional culture has a profound impact on students' academic and affective experiences. Young and Campbell (2014), for example, administered the GP-CORE measure

of psychological distress/wellbeing to 421 university students at a historically 'white-only' South African university and found that on average black students reported greater levels of psychological distress in comparison to white students. They conclude that this suggests that historically white higher education institutions (and most likely others in the country) should do more to create racially and culturally inclusive institutional cultures and support black students. South Africa has one of the lowest graduation or completion rates worldwide (Cosser, 2018), and black students are disproportionately represented among students who fail to graduate (Letseka & Maile, 2008).

In addition to the whiteness of institutional culture, theorists in South Africa have also highlighted the heteronormativity and patriarchal gendered dominance in the institutional culture of local universities (Barnes, 2006; Donaldson, 2015; Matthyse, 2017). Barnes (2006, p. 17) contends that "institutional cultures in modern… South African universities… produce and reproduce ways of knowing that privilege certain kinds of maleness, and sideline and marginalise other ways of knowing and of knowledge production". However, Schendel (2018) asserts that although institutional cultures at South African universities have chiefly remained resistant to change and frequently reproduce the dominant status quo, there have been some initiatives at both department and cross-institutional levels that have demonstrated some success in transforming institutional culture. These successes indicate that there is the potential for institutional cultures to be changed to enable more transformative pedagogy.

2.1.3 Neoliberalism, Globalisation and the Marketisation of Higher Education

Relatedly, research has demonstrated how the system of higher education globally is increasingly underpinned by neoliberal principles of hyper-competition and individualism (Swartz et al., 2017). South African higher education institutions are caught between often incompatible goals of 1) contributing towards the transformation of deeply ingrained societal

inequalities in South Africa, and 2) keeping pace with international trends of neoliberalism and the marketisation of higher education. This conflict is particularly evident in universities, such as UCT, which were established during the colonial period to serve a privileged white elite, but which should now serve the needs of a range of more diverse student populations (Swartz et al., 2017). In other words, a contradiction exists between a necessary movement toward Africanisation or decolonisation as described above and a global system that appears to be moving in a different direction. Gyamera and Burke's (2017) research in Ghana (but with relevance to the South African context) illuminates how hegemonic discourses underpinned by neoliberal agendas continue to privilege Western-centred perspectives in African higher education. The decolonisation of higher education in South Africa and other postcolonial countries requires active critiques of, and challenges to, neoliberal constructions of globalisation as a neutral, natural and inevitable economic process.

In their critiques of neoliberalism in higher education, some scholars have been concerned with the standards by which universities are ranked (e.g. Badat, 2010). There is increasing competition for universities to achieve so-called 'world-class status' (Naidoo & Ranchod, 2018), and there is a need to interrogate the rankings through which such status is conferred. Badat's (2010) examination of global university rankings from the perspective of universities in the Global South illustrates that most global rankings of universities are both embedded in and a manifestation of the hegemony of neoliberal ideology. Dominant global ranking systems such as the Shanghai Jiao Tong Institute of Higher Education Ranking and the Times Higher Education Quacquarelli Symonds System arbitrarily and narrowly focus on research outputs. These ranking systems do not consider various other elements, such as learning and teaching, equity of student access, diversity of students and staff, institutional culture, academic freedom and student participation. Naidoo and Ranchod (2018) also question the supposed benefits associated with the 'world-class university' ranking. They

suggest that the implicit mission of 'elite' universities is often in direct conflict with the enhancing of equity, with few incentives given to "support institutions that admit large numbers of students from the most disadvantaged sectors of society" (p. 29).

2.1.4 Curricula

Central to the institutional cultures of universities is the content and focus of the curricula students are taught. The colonial and apartheid-inherited curriculum structures persist in many higher education institutions (Swartz et al., 2017), and are further entrenched by the hegemonic neoliberal discourses discussed above which continue to privilege Euro-American perspectives in African higher education (Gyamera & Burke, 2017). Consequently, the curricula at many higher education institutions are often alienating to many students for whom they do not reflect their lived reality (Swartz et al., 2017). Much of the research and debate about higher education generally in South Africa has focused on issues of curriculum reform (see Cross et al., 2002; Higgs, 2016; le Grange, 2016; Mamdani, 1998; Morreira; 2017; Ramrathan, 2016). Particularly since the RMF and FMF protests, theorists have been in increasing consensus on the need to decolonise higher education curricula across various disciplines (le Grange, 2016; Msila & Gumbo, 2016). Curriculum change is thus receiving growing attention within university policy and practice (see, for example, the Curriculum Change Working Group at UCT's Curriculum Change Framework.).

There are various approaches to the implementation of curriculum change (Saurombe, 2018). Naidoo and Ranchod (2018) caution that while transforming curricula in higher education in South Africa is vital, "equating knowledge in a simplistic manner to the national context or certain cultures may result in the detachment of higher education from powerful global knowledge structures and from wider procedures for generating better knowledge" (p.

18). Although many agree that curricula should change, the process of actually making the changes is contested.

2.1.5 Research on Students' and Academics' Experiences and Perspectives

A critical element of understanding the dynamics of the complex higher education landscape in South Africa is considering the experiences and perspectives of the staff and students who work and study within these institutions. Creating and ensuring inclusive higher education environments require careful consideration of how students and staff exist within the varied higher education spaces (Burke, 2018). A growing body of research has thus been concerned with qualitatively examining the lived realities of university students and staff. This has included, for example, the varied perspectives of students of all races on transformation (e.g. Seabi et al., 2012; Githaiga et al., 2018); the views of students on the impact of higher education on their lives (Case et al., 2018); students' involvement in protests (e.g. Langa, 2016; Luescher et al., 2017; Naicker, 2016; Nyamnjoh, 2017); and the experiences of black academics (see Jawitz, 2012; Khunou et al., 2019) and white academics (see Jawitz, 2016).

In particular, issues of identity are vital for understanding and elucidating student and staff experiences in higher education (Anderson & Williams, 2001). Within the literature that considers students' perspectives, a range of studies have examined the identity or subjectivity of students and their related experiences on campus. Most of this research has examined identity in relation to race (e.g. Bangeni & Kapp, 2005; Cornell & Kessi, 2017; Kessi & Cornell, 2015; Kiguwa, 2014; Nomdo, 2017; Walker, 2005a, 2005b; Woods, 2001), but there have also been considerations of sexuality (e.g. Hames, 2007; Lesch et al., 2017; Maritz & Prinsloo, 2015; Munyuki & Vincent, 2018; Naidu & Mutumbara, 2017), gender (e.g. Chisolm et al., 2009; Walker, 1998), language (Botsis & Bradbury, 2018; Parkinson & Crouch, 2011)

and/or literacy practices (e.g. McKenna, 2004), disability (e.g. McKinney et al., 2018; Mutanga, 2013; Richards et al., 2018), and intersections of some or all of these aspects of identity (e.g. Boonzaier & Mkhize, 2018; Kamsteeg, 2016; Prado-Castro & Graham, 2017; Singh & Bhana, 2015; Soudien, 2008; Swartz et al., 2017). This body of research has demonstrated the myriad marginalisations, exclusions and obstacles to access and participation that students face in relation to their particular intersecting identities, but also their strategies for success, achievements, coping mechanisms and resistances. Kapp and Bangeni (2020) warn, however, that some of the recent theorising around identity risks pathologising and universalising students' identities. They suggest that the dominant discourses in some recent research on student identities either construct students as "entitled millennials" or traumatised and alienated victims (p. 82). They stress that such deterministic and binary representations of students "present students' social identities as uniform, static, and singular and fail to represent the complexity and diversity of the lived experiences and identity transitions" of, in particular, black university students (p. 82). Research into student identities must be cognisant of students' own meaning-making processes and agency in their construction of their identities on campus (Kapp & Bangeni, 2020). The South African qualitative research on student and staff experiences has highlighted the roles students can play in addressing, seeking, and contributing towards the transformation of higher education in South Africa, and has foregrounded the importance of considering students' voices and perspectives in the process of transformation.

2.2 Research into Higher Education and Space

Part One of the literature review demonstrates that South African higher education research into transformation has examined a rich diversity of themes. However, space and the material aspects of higher education have received relatively little theorising and attention in

relation to transformation (Vincent, 2015). Part Two of this literature review considers space, turning first to general theoretical considerations and understandings of space, and then focusing specifically on research about space in higher education. It concludes with an outline of South African studies into higher education transformation that involve an element of spatial theorising. Traditionally, interest in space has been restricted to the discipline of geography. In the social sciences and humanities, time has been privileged over space as an organising principle for scientific inquiry. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, geography was chiefly concerned with identifying and classifying space. Space was understood as a resource to be mapped, labelled and accumulated. This conceptualisation of space was implicit in the colonial project of exploiting, controlling and oppressing land and people (Valentine, 2001). In the 1950s and 1960s, positivist approaches to geography were dominant. These approaches were concerned with understanding universal spatial laws to predict and examine behaviour and used quantitative methods. Space was considered to be a neutral physical surface and an empty container in which events and behaviours occurred (Gulson & Symes, 2007; Valentine, 2001). In the 1970s, positivist understandings of space were contested. The works of Michel Foucault (1972, 1980) and Henri Lefebvre (1974/1991) were particularly significant and held that the structuring of space was fundamental to the capitalist system (Soja, 2009). Furthermore, Lefebvre (1991) suggested that space should be understood as both material and concrete, and socially produced and productive. Lefebvre's conceptualisation of space was seminal and prompted further work (see Harvey, 1982, 1989; Massey, 1984, 1992, 1994; Rose, 1993; Soja, 1989) that expanded critical understandings of space (Soja, 2009). These critical geographers took an interdisciplinary approach, with critical spatial perspectives taken up by other theorists in many different directions (Soja, 2009). This resulted in a growing interest in space, across the social sciences and humanities from the 1990s, resulting in 'the spatial turn' (Ferrare & Apple, 2010; Soja, 2009; Von

Brömssen & Risenfors, 2014). The spatial turn has allowed for critical understandings of space, in which "space could no longer be seen simply as a backdrop against which life unfolds sequentially, but rather, intimately tied to lived experience" (Warf & Arias, 2009, p. 4). These critical understandings of space have much to offer to work on higher education transformation in South Africa and beyond.

Although the spatial turn originated in the 1990s, it is only comparatively recently that space has been considered necessary in research into education (Gulson & Symes, 2007; Paechter, 2004; Samura, 2016a; Taylor, 2009; Vavrus, 2016). Particularly in higher education research, 'space' as a concept is defined and used inconsistently (Samura, 2016a). Research examining university students' experiences has typically not explicitly prioritised space as a dimension of analysis (Samura, 2016a). Often when space is considered, it is in the use of spatial language and the vocabulary of geography, in which space is mainly employed as a metaphor (Edwards & Usher, 2003; Gulson & Symes, 2007; Robertson, 2010; Taylor, 2009). Robertson (2010) warns that only using a spatial vocabulary "is to fetishise space, leaving a particular medium of power, projects and politics – space – to go unnoticed" (p. 15). It is necessary to apply a critical spatial lens to research into education to help deepen understandings of the formation of subjectivities and structures of power. A spatial lens can locate and highlight how broader ideologies and discourses manifest in the lived experiences and materiality of higher education (Samura, 2016b).

The concerted interest in space in education research over the last decade has been prompted in part by the spatial changes wrought by the dominance of neoliberal governance (Von Brömssen & Risenfors, 2014). The marketisation of education has several spatial dimensions, and educational theorists have been forced to consider the influence of space in the unequal provision of education produced by such neoliberal policies (Gulson & Symes, 2007). Additionally, globalisation has radically transformed education provision, and the

movement of students through higher education institutions across the globe has caused increased attention to questions of space (Gulson & Symes, 2007; Robertson, 2010). As yet, there is no distinct field dedicated to spatial theorising in education but rather, growing pockets of literature that examine spatial questions in education (Cox, 2011; Gulson & Symes, 2007; Taylor, 2009). Typically, the main two disciplinary strands to this research have been geographers concerned with educational topics (e.g. Andersson et al., 2012; Holloway & Jöns, 2012; Hopkins, 2010; Inwood & Martin, 2008), and educationalists who employ spatial theories (e.g. Fenwick et al., 2011; Gulson & Symes, 2007). This loose body of research is varied and fragmented, and "draws eclectically, and not always coherently from the threads of spatial theory" (Fenwick et al., 2011, p. 148).

As part of this wider spatial turn, work on the 'geographies of students' (Holton & Riley, 2013, 2016; Smith, 2009) is increasingly prevalent across the social sciences. Theorists are recognising that education spaces serve as "prominent anchors, essential markers of social and cultural identity" (Smith et al., 2014, p. 5). In other words, the spaces in which students exist (e.g. classrooms, residences) may explicitly impact their experiences of higher education (Holton & Riley, 2016). Central to the work on the 'geographies of students' is the consideration of students' identities and the influence that higher education spaces can have for the development of these identities (Holton & Riley, 2016). The next section of this chapter outlines some of the common focus areas within the emerging body of research on space, students, and higher education: specifically, student mobility, learning spaces, and spatial justice and identity.

2.2.1 Transnationality, Globalisation and Student Mobility

It is becoming increasingly common for students to cross national borders for higher education, due in part to globalisation and the availability of cheap and accessible travel and

communication (Brooks & Waters, 2011). The internationalisation of higher education and the migration of students transnationally has been a focus of research on space and higher education (see Brooks & Waters, 2011; Matus, 2016; Smith et al., 2013; Waters & Brooks, 2012). Waters and Brooks (2012), for example, explore the uneven geography of student mobility. They argue that there are spatial inequalities implicit in the flow of students between countries that expose the ideological foundations of neoliberal globalisation. Matus (2016), drawing on international students' and academics' experiences of returning home after working overseas, avers that examining how (academic) bodies in motion experience and make meaning around time and space is vital for cultural considerations of higher education institutions. This research demonstrates the value in considering the role of space in understanding the dynamics and hierarchies within the global system of higher education.

2.2.2 Learning Spaces

While the literature discussed above has examined the movement of students between higher education spaces across the globe, other research has examined spaces within higher education institutions. Much of this research has concentrated on understanding learning spaces and the effects of space on learning, curriculum and pedagogy (Brooks, 2011; Edwards & Usher, 2003; Fenwick et al., 2011; Gulson & Symes, 2007). In this research, physical spaces in which people are educated are not considered backdrops but are instead seen as integral to shaping differential educational processes, outcomes and experiences. Educational space is viewed as unbounded, containing relational sets of mobilities and practices (Fenwick et al., 2011; Nespor, 1994). Most of this research has been based in primary and secondary school settings (e.g. McGregor, 2004; Roehl, 2012), but some researchers have also considered higher education contexts (e.g. Acton, 2017; Temple, 2008; Zufferey & King, 2016). Acton (2017, p. 6), for example, collected "stories of change" by

conducting interviews with academics at a university in Australia who had first taught in traditional learning spaces and had then transitioned to new facilities specifically designed to facilitate collaborative teaching and learning. Acton concludes that when learning spaces in higher education are redesigned and transformed, so too are pedagogic practices and students' experiences. Material conditions can both limit and enhance learning opportunities, and thus enable certain educational practices to become the hegemonic status quo but also shift dominant norms (Acton, 2017). Acton's work emphasises the importance of assessing how pedagogy and learning are "spatialised in ways that are infused with unequal power relationships", in order better to understand university environments (p. 9). Zufferey and King (2016), in their study of social work students' physical learning spaces, illustrated that the arrangements of learning spaces are pivotal in affecting students' confidence, engagement and experiential learning. This body of work demonstrates that spaces of teaching and learning have an influence on the experiences and outcomes of those who teach and learn within them.

2.2.3 Spatial Justice and Identity

An important element of space in higher education institutions that scholars are increasingly considering is how inequitable access to education is spatialised (see Armstrong, 2012; Lindgren, 2010; Vavrus, 2016). As Robertson (2010, p. 22) suggests, it is through a critical analysis of space that we observe how "particular identities are produced, families advantaged or excluded, classes constituted, genders reproduced, populations privileged… through education" (p. 22). Theorists have highlighted the need to consider the connection between space and issues of justice, participation, and exclusion in education (Andersson et al., 2012; Armstrong, 2012). Spaces contribute to meaning-making (Gildersleeve & Kuntz, 2011) and are integral to the production of power relations within higher education

(Gildersleeve & Kuntz, 2011; Hopkins, 2010; Robertson, 2010). The meanings imbued in educational spaces are gendered, raced and classed (Ferrare & Apple, 2010). Thus, campus spatial hierarchy has implications for students' experiences of inclusion or exclusion, and marginalisation or empowerment (Andersson et al., 2012; Cox et al., 2012; Hopkins, 2011; Moguerane, 2007). As Dolmage (2017) suggests, "gates, towers, and steep steps should make us understand how deeply these architectural investments imprint educational attitudes: who gets kept out, who and what gets held carefully within, and what conduct can be excused, which rights can be suspended, on campus?" (p. 48). Furthermore, a consideration of the perspectives of students and staff, particularly those who face marginalisation on campus, is essential for campus architects and planners if they are to work towards addressing landscape and architecture-based discrimination (Muñoz, 2009; Samura, 2016a).

Critical research in education must explore and expose these power dynamics and processes, and a growing number of studies seek to do this (e.g. Andersson et al., 2012; Costello, 2001; Dolmage, 2017; Harwood et al., 2018; Hopkins, 2010; Inwood & Martin, 2008; Minthorn & Marsh, 2016; Samura, 2016a, 2016b; Trowler, 2019). Much of this research has examined the interplay of space and race on campus. A recent study by Wee (2019) of Singaporean, female undergraduate students' space and identity construction in the UK elucidated how power dynamics across public and university spaces impacted students' sense of otherness, and their feelings of racial and personal hypervisibility. Wee's research highlights the value of considering space as yielding a nuanced understanding of student identity formation and understandings of racial othering. Muñoz (2009) similarly describes how campus landscape planning and architecture play a pivotal role in perpetuating racism in the United States. He suggests that "as manifestations of American values and educational priorities, the residence halls students sleep inside, the greens they laze upon, and the classrooms they learn within are each steeped in the machinations of American racism"

(Muñoz, 2009, p. 57). Samura's (2015, 2016a, 2016b) work on Asian-American college students' experiences further demonstrates the value of employing a spatial approach to examining racism in higher education. Samura (2016b), for example, used photo-journals and interviews to explore how Asian-American college students' racial identities interact with campus space. Her findings illustrate how students' sense of belonging fluctuated and was affected by the interactions between students and campus space. Students could remake spaces to enhance their sense of belonging, but only at certain times and with particular groups of people. Samura (2016b) concludes that rather than a fixed state, students' sense of belonging is an ongoing process, involving interaction between students' identities and the spaces they occupy. Samura (2016a) claims that a spatial approach enables researchers to identify and investigate the complicated connections between different and intersectional identities, and to consider how certain college spaces maintain inequities and institutional power dynamics.

Although most research considering spatial justice in education has focused on race, other studies have examined other identity categories on campus. Hopkins (2010), for example, examined Muslim students' experiences of space on a British university campus. Participants raised concerns about the location of the mosque on the periphery of campus and the dominance of drinking alcohol in campus spaces. The participants felt that this reflected inequities with regard to how Islam was perceived on campus and was part of broader processes of religious exclusion and discrimination. Also in the UK, Taulke-Johnson (2010) considered sexuality, examining gay students' experiences in university accommodation. The study found that heterosexual housemates victimised gay students when their 'gayness' extended beyond the margins of their bedrooms into communal household areas, showing how student accommodation can be a pivotal site for the "socio-spatial production of the heterosexual matrix and re-inscription of heteronormativity" (p. 401). Looking at gender

identities, Seelman (2016) found that for transgender and gender non-binary students in the United States, denial of access to gender-neutral college bathrooms or gender-appropriate campus housing had a significant relationship with suicide attempts. Clearly, these spatialised exclusions and resulting experiences of marginalisation and alienation can have harmful consequences for students, their identity construction and their broader wellbeing. Concerning ability specifically, Dolmage (2017) uses the metaphor of 'steep steps' to analyse academic ableism within universities. He suggests that universities with their steep steps (both material and ideological) disavow disability. Higher education institutions construct disability as a 'problem' within individual students. Instead, Dolmage argues that disability should be considered the product of an ableist campus environment and not inherently within students. This disavowal serves to keep out and mark out those with identities that do not qualify.

There have also been several studies that have examined spatial justice in relation to an intersection of identities. Costello (2001), for example, analysed the built environments of two North American universities to illuminate how campus physical environments convey messages aimed at socialising students and reproducing class, race, gender and other hierarchies. Costello outlined how the Law Schools' opulent buildings, donation plaques, artworks predominantly featuring white men, and hierarchical arrangement of lecture theatres, socialise students to expect power, authority, hierarchy, and wealth. However, these messages are targeted to upper-cass white male students, causing other students' alienation and unease, as though they are imposters. Using a similar focus on a range of identity categories, Trowler (2019) explored how self-identified 'non-traditional' students (in terms of age, class, and race) at Scottish universities engaged with space and place and how this affected their sense of belonging and identity as students. She concluded that higher education is a contested landscape imbued with claims and counterclaims about which

students have the "right" to be there. Trowler's findings demonstrate that students negotiate their identities within this contested landscape and develop practices which – through repetition – engender a sense of belonging on campus. Trowler's study highlights that paying heed to these processes and students' experiences within this contested higher education environment "makes explicit the dynamics which constrain and enable the development of a 'student identity'" (p. 101). Central to all of these studies is the role of space in the othering that students experience on campus, the processes of inclusion and exclusion, and the re-inscription of campus hierarchies based on various categories of identity.

2.2.4 Research on Space in the South African Higher Education Context

There is a small but increasing number of South African higher education studies which explicitly consider space (e.g. Baillie et al., 2019; Dixon & Janks, 2018; Gibson & Macleod, 2012; Higham, 2012; Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Laubscher, 2019; Morreira et al., 2020; Tumubweinee, 2018; Tumubweinee & Luescher, 2019) or materiality (e.g. Leibowitz, 2016; Murris, 2016; Vincent, 2015). The section that follows explores some of the analytical and theoretical trends in this growing body of research.

Most of the South African research that has examined space in some way has been concerned with the racialised segregation of universities (Binikos & Rugunanan, 2015; Durrheim et al., 2004; Koen & Durrheim, 2010; Moguerane, 2007; Woods, 2001). There is a large body of work that has documented the racially segregated student body at UCT specifically (Alexander, 2007; Alexander & Tredoux, 2010; Kim, 2015; Schrieff et al., 2010; Schrieff et al., 2005; Tredoux et al., 2005). These studies illustrate that the powerful but implicit set of values, assumptions and norms that governs the use of space in higher education institutions in South Africa is difficult to disrupt. Alexander (2007), for example, found that even when there are numerous opportunities for intergroup contact, racial

segregation between students remains deeply entrenched. Later studies have confirmed these findings (Alexander & Tredoux, 2010; Schrieff et al., 2010).

Much of the research on racial segregation at higher education institutions has illustrated that the racialised use of space on campus is reflective of the broader spatial legacies of segregation in this country. Bhana (2014), for example, analysed how black, working-class university students talk about race, and found that in students' narratives certain spaces on campus, such as the cafeteria and coffee shop, were identified as central sites for the constitution of class and race patterns. Bhana argues that geographies of apartheid and histories of separation are reproduced in students' interactions in space on campus. This body of research on student self-segregation highlights how the dynamics between students are deeply spatialised and illustrates the importance of considering the country's historical and socio-political context when trying to understand students' use of and meaning-making around space on campus.

Related to this work on segregation on campus and consistent with the international analytical trends discussed above, an important area of South African theorising has focused on the interplay of space and identity in students' experiences of campus, as well as dynamics of exclusion and inclusion. Tumubweinee's (2018) case study of transformation and physical space at the University of the Free State demonstrates that higher education space is intrinsically connected to race, class, and gender, and that historical and spatial factors differentiate socially between individuals. This socio-spatial differentiation influences the everyday reality of individuals within higher education institutions. Dixon and Janks' (2018) case study of space at Wits University similarly highlights the spatialised differentiation on South African university campuses. Their research demonstrates that university spaces – at both the micro and macro level – produce embodied subjectivities. Students in the study generally felt unwelcome and isolated in spaces on this campus, which were typically

segregated along racial lines. These recent studies also demonstrate the value of multi-method in-depth case studies of specific universities for understanding the unfolding process of higher education transformation.

Higham (2012) similarly examined university students' experiences of exclusion and inclusion at South African universities. He proposes that different conceptualisations of place can be employed to show how variations in exclusion can overlap in one location, and how exclusion and inclusion can stem from institutional as well as wider societal processes. Importantly, Higham's study shows that internal institutional norms and practices leave the responsibility for inclusion to new entrants, rather than dismantling existing systems. Higham argues that his findings "suggest 'place' and 'space', conceived geographically, rather than solely in term of access, can offer additional insights into how politics of identity and difference impact upon inclusive education" (p. 499).

In a study similar to the British research by Taulke-Johnson (2010) discussed above, but specifically within residence spaces, Jagessar and Msibi (2015) examined homophobia in residences at a university in KwaZulu-Natal (one of nine South African provinces). They found that homophobia was normalised through the use of violence and mob power, enabled through the occupation and taking over of certain spaces in the residence. These spaces then serve to uphold hegemonic masculinity. Kiguwa and Langa (2017) similarly identified the preponderance of homophobia and heteronormativity in campus residence spaces at a South African university. They examined gay male students' experiences in heteronormative residence spaces, focusing on the marginalisation these students faced, the meanings associated with their identity performances, and the potential for challenging heteronormative spaces. Concerning race rather than sexuality, Moguerane's (2007) study of a postgraduate student residence at a historically white-only Afrikaans university concluded that the status quo in the residence spaces was skewed to privilege white Afrikaans students. However,

black students used space to resist feelings of alienation and powerlessness in residences, by creating safe spaces of belonging for themselves in communities of students with common experiences and identities of 'blackness'. Importantly, these latter two studies highlight that although students may experience marginalisation, oppression and exclusion based on their intersecting identities, they may also seek spaces of belonging and re-make and renegotiate spatial arrangements on campus.

Looking, in particular, at UCT, the setting of the present study, Bangeni and Kapp (2005) examined black undergraduate students' identities in transition at university. The authors explored different spaces, home and university, in relation to the participants' identities. Students' identities are challenged by rejection from their communities when they go home, and dominant institutional discourses result in a sense of being 'unhomed'. However, the authors suggest that being 'unhomed' is symbolic of the ambivalent space inhabited by black students who straddle these different and contradictory discourses. They hold that the experience of being 'unhomed' does not result in a loss of identity as much as an ongoing and fluctuating repositioning of students' identities as they encounter these varied discourses. In a recent longitudinal study, Kapp and Bangeni (2020) further explore students' identity negotiations. They examine how students interpret spaces and how they invest in the subject position available to them in particular times and spaces. They demonstrate that students occupy varied subject positions that are connected to "the boundaries and possibilities of place and time" (p. 82). In traversing such boundaries, "students are involved in a cognitive and affective process in search of a place, a position that enables them to seem to reconcile past and present and provide options for the future" (p. 84). Kapp and Bangeni (2020) suggest that this process is "agentic work" and a central part of the learning involved in a university education (p. 85). However, this agency is only possible in certain times and

places. Their research highlights the nuance and complexities in students' identity constructions at university and the importance of a situated understanding of agency.

While the above studies have examined the interplay of space and identity in relation to students' affective experiences of belonging or exclusion, several studies have additionally examined students' physical safety in relation to space and identity on campus. Shefer et al. (2017) and Ngabaza et al. (2015), for example, used photovoice to study students' reflections and perceptions of safe and unsafe places at their universities. These studies highlight how the construction of safety on campus – much like a sense of belonging – is racialised, gendered, classed, and sexualised, and mediated through different factors of marginality. Looking at residence spaces, Gopal and van Niekerk (2018) considered students' experiences of safety in residences at two university campuses at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. By contrast with Langa and Kiguwa (2017) or Jagessar and Msibi's (2015) research discussed above, which considered experiences of homophobic violence (both direct and symbolic) in residences, Gopal and van Niekerk (2018) conceptualised 'safety' as mainly relating to the theft of possessions. Their research demonstrates the importance of material and physical safety and security in campus residences for students' chances of success at university. The HSRC's recent five-year study of student experience did not directly examine space as such, but their findings similarly reveal student concerns with safety and freedom of movement on campus (Swartz et al., 2017). These concerns were mostly gendered, with many of the female participants describing how they felt constrained by their gender in terms of where they could go on campus and at what times. This often meant missing out on certain campus activities such as study groups, or having limited access to after-hours study in the libraries and computer rooms, out of fear of physical attack. Concerning gender and the physical space on campus, the study report also concluded that "the infrastructures on some campuses were reported to be unfriendly to female students, which indicated that historically, architectural

designs did not recognise the needs of women" (Swartz et al., 2017, p. 52). The authors gave the example of a lack of easily accessible female toilets on campus. Again, these studies illustrate that university spaces are experienced differently by students from across different intersecting identities.

This growing body of South African research discussed above highlights the importance of considering spatial arrangements when seeking to understand the varied dynamics involved in the constitution, construction and navigation of students' identities on campus. University places and spaces are a central component of daily life on campus and are implicated within the various processes of inclusion and exclusion that shape students' experiences. These studies highlight the interesting potential for spatial theorising and considerations of identity in research into the transformation processes of higher education in South Africa.

2.3 Chapter Summary

The first part of this chapter presented a review of the literature concerning higher education transformation in South Africa. This body of work encompasses a diversity of analytical and theoretical trends, ranging from statistical analysis of student and staff demographics to in-depth qualitative explorations of student and staff experiences. However, research into considerations of space in relation to educational transformation in South Africa has been comparatively limited. The second part of this chapter provided a closer examination of space in research into higher education internationally and delineated some common theoretical considerations within the emerging body of international literature. In particular, international research on spatial justice and identity in higher education is relevant to this study. This international research highlights the necessity of considering the role of space in the processes of inclusion and exclusion on campus, and the enactment of students'

identities. The chapter then narrowed its focus to the South African studies into higher education that involve spatial theorising. This growing body of South African literature illustrates the value of spatial theorising for producing nuanced and innovative examinations of identity in research into higher education, and for advancing complex and contextual understandings of the ongoing processes of higher education transformation.

Chapter Three: Research Design and Methodology

This chapter outlines the research design and methodology used in this dissertation. It starts with an exploration of the theoretical approaches underpinning this interdisciplinary research: critical psychology and anti-racist feminist geography. The research methodology, institutional ethnography, is then described. As various visual research methods are used within this institutional ethnography, a general overview of visual research methods is also provided. A detailed account of the two broad strands of data collection is given. Details of the student and staff participants, as well as of recruitment, are outlined, and the data analysis is described. Ethical considerations are discussed, and finally, reflexivity is considered.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

3.1.1 A Psycho-Spatial Nexus

Although this dissertation is concerned with the process of transformation within the context of higher education, I situate this work at the intersection of critical psychology and critical geography rather than higher education studies. As much as this dissertation seeks to interrogate higher education practices, it focuses on *identity* (a central concern of psychological theorising) within education, and the multitude of psycho-spatial processes that play out in the construction of intersecting identities on a university campus. Within and around this focus on identity, it interrogates the *spaces and places* of higher education, their meanings, their boundaries, their organisation, their effects on the people who occupy them, and their historical-contemporary resonances.

I thus employ theoretical frameworks drawn from both critical psychology and critical geography. Although space is perhaps not a central consideration of psychology as it is for critical geography, there is an established body of critical, social and political psychology

work that demonstrates the importance of spatial theorising (e.g. Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Durrheim & Dixon, 2001; Durrheim et al., 2013; Durrheim, 2005; Hook, 2005; Hopkins & Dixon, 2006; Hopkins, et al., 2006; Urson et al., forthcoming). Together these frameworks can offer a psychology-spatiality nexus at which to situate this project, which can enable both a deeper level of spatial theorising to the concepts of critical psychology drawn on here, and a psychology of spatiality on campus. These approaches have many overlapping assumptions and are both underpinned by a social constructionist understanding of identity and a commitment to challenging dominant, oppressive power relations. They should thus complement each other well in an attempt to understand the mutual influence of identity and space in higher education.

3.1.2 Critical Psychology Approaches

This project is, in part, located within a critical social psychological approach. There is no single critical psychological theory, rather a diversity of concepts and practices with common goals and focuses. One shared emphasis in this body of critiques is a concern with disrupting power imbalances. In particular, critical psychology is focused on problematising the oppressive use of power by psychology itself (Hook, 2004). The critique of mainstream psychology has particular relevance for this study because the discipline of psychology has been responsible for perpetuating many of the inequitable power relations embedded within the higher education system. For example, historically, psychologists have sought (and some still do seek) to document supposed race-based IQ differences within education (see Glăveanu, 2009; Richards, 1997). This concern with so-called race differences has contributed to current stigmatising stereotypes of black students as academically inferior which permeate many educational institutions. Furthermore, psychology as a discipline has been implicated in the construction of rigid gender binaries and has devoted much study to

examining supposed fundamental, essentialist gender differences within education as well as society more broadly (see Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018). Thus, critical psychology, with its call to challenge these oppressive dimensions of the discipline of psychology, is a useful framework in which to situate this project.

Within the broader body of critical psychology theory, I will draw on decolonial feminist psychology approaches (see Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2019; Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018; Macleod et al., 2017; Ratele et al., 2020). The decolonial turn within psychology (see Seedat & Suffla, 2017), often referred to as 'postcolonial psychology' (e.g. Macleod et al., 2017), pays attention to the relationships of domination and resistance that emerge when one culture controls another (Hook, 2004; Macleod et al., 2017). Thus, unlike many other social psychological approaches to understanding oppression, decolonising psychologies acknowledge the complex and often hidden imbalances of power underpinning social relations and structures, and elucidate how present-day power relations have their roots in colonial history. However, although decolonial critiques valuably highlight racial subjectivity, they often ignore the intersection of racialised identities with other dimensions of identity such as gender, sexuality and class (Boonzaier & van Niekerk, 2019). Thus, following Boonzaier and van Niekerk (2019) and Kessi and Boonzaier (2018), in this dissertation, I employ feminist critiques alongside decolonial approaches to psychology. Such a framework rejects an essentialist, fixed understanding of identity and considers how spaces and places – particularly those built and designed within a colonial architectural tradition – shape people's identities in the present day (Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018). Decolonial feminist psychology, which "centres questions of institutional racism, embodiment and space, identity-related impact of colonisation and dispossession" (Kessi & Boonzaier, 2018, p. 305), is thus a useful frame through which to examine the complex interplay of identity and space in a university that is wrestling with its colonial legacy.

3.1.3 Anti-Racist Feminist Geography

This project also employs anti-racist feminist geography as an analytical lens (see Kobayashi, 2005). Anti-racist feminist geography is innately interdisciplinary and similarly engages with postcolonial, critical race theory, and intersectional theory (Kobayashi, 2005; Nelson & Seager, 2005; Peake & Kobayashi, 2002). Anti-racist feminist geography emerges out of the body of critical and feminist geography theorising. In general, feminist geography questions how spaces are experienced differently by different people, with different dimensions of identity, including gender, race, class and age (Bondi & Davidson, 2005). It theorises how multiple intersecting "oppressions are embedded in, and produced through, material and symbolic space and place" (Nelson & Seager, 2005, p. 7). Inequitable social relations are both articulated and established through spatial differentiation (Rose, 1993).

Within feminist geography, there are two broad approaches to gender, space and place (Bondi & Davidson, 2005). The first approach, which emerges from the seminal work of Doreen Massey (1984), conceptualises space and gender specifically (but also other categories of identity), as fluid and "mutually constitutive processes" (Bondi & Davidson. 2005, p. 16). However, it acknowledges that although gender and space are not fixed, they are difficult to change or disrupt. The second approach within this field, which originates in Gillian Rose's (1993) work, focuses on the contradictions by acknowledging the difficulty of disrupting gender and space but also examining the chance for remaking and constituting space and gender. Feminist geography is appropriate for this study which aims to examine how students' intersecting identities are influenced by material campus spaces. Furthermore, it allows for the acknowledgement that, although it is difficult for students to disrupt institutional spaces, radical change is possible.

However, traditionally feminist geography has historically tended to emphasise gender over other categories of identity, and the intersections of race and gender, as well as

racialised experiences, have at times been considered in passing rather than as central to research questions (Kobayashi, 2005; Rose, 1993; Valentine, 2007). The influence of black feminism on feminist geography has been important in highlighting the need to recognise the role of class, race, religion, and a range of other intersecting dimensions of identity, in the constitution of power relations in space within critical geography (Hopkins, 2019; Rose, 1993). Indeed, social geographers have increasingly drawn on intersectionality, although not always acknowledging the influence of black feminism (Hopkins, 2019).

anti-racist and feminist approaches within critical geography, in particular, underscore the importance of race and intersectionality in considerations of identity and space (see Kobayashi, 2005; Lahiri-Dutt, 2016; Mollett, 2017; Nash, 2003; Peake & Kobayashi, 2002; Mahtani, 2006). These approaches "place the complexity of identities at the forefront of analysis and practical action" (Lahiri-Dutt, 2016, p. 329). Antiracist feminist geography encourages work that examines the myriad and intersecting modes of oppression which are underpinned by the logics and legacies of white supremacy (Mollett, 2017). Colonial histories of slavery, violence, exploitation and oppression "set the terrain" for contemporary iterations of racism (p. 2). As such, antiracist feminist geographers suggest that the dynamics of the ongoing project of coloniality are important to explore when considering these intersections of oppression within antiracist geography (Mollett, 2017). This approach coheres with aims of critical psychology in this regard. Kobayashi (2005) outlines three core tenets of anti-racist feminist geography: firstly, it is "directly engaged with the world, taking seriously the lives of racialised subjects" (p. 34); secondly, it not only considers the researcher's positionality and epistemic assumptions but highlights the importance of working for social change and taking an explicit stance towards activism; and finally, it emphasises the need to produce disruptive discourses that can alter material reality. Such an approach aims to extend beyond purely

academic activities towards “critical and theoretically informed activism” (Peake & Kobayashi, 2002).

3.2 Institutional Ethnography

The primary methodology used for this study was institutional ethnography. The research undertaken was a single-site case study of the University of Cape Town (UCT) which explored the dynamics of space. Ethnography is a multi-method approach in which researchers immerse themselves in the area under study, using a combination of different forms of data collection, such as observations, interviews, focus groups, the examination of written documents, and researchers’ fieldwork. Increasingly, ethnographic methods are expanding to include multimedia and visual methods, such as the use of video, photography, drawing, mapping and web-based methods (Runswick-Cole, 2011). Frequently, ethnography is employed to “make the strange familiar”; however, it can also be used to “render the familiar strange” (p. 77). Researchers working within educational contexts, such as universities, have used ethnographic methods to examine practices within their own institutions (Runswick-Cole, 2011; Trowler, 2016). This work often takes the form of an institutional ethnography. Ethnographic approaches and in-depth case studies of institutions may offer deeper considerations of the multiplicity of students’ experiences on campus than traditional quantitative research aimed at providing numerical data on student experiences (Holton & Riley, 2013).

In seeking to understand the practices and experiences of the actors and stakeholders within an institution, interviews may provide insight, but a thorough spatial analysis that offers understandings of relations of power requires archival study, analysis of policy, observation and fieldwork notes, alongside interviews or focus groups (Billo & Mountz, 2016).

Institutional ethnography was originally developed by Dorothy Smith (1987, 2005) as an embodied feminist approach. It has explicitly critical and liberatory aims in its attention to processes of marginalisation within institutions (Billo & Mountz, 2016), and thus connects well with the theoretical frameworks drawn on in this study. It can help expose problematic and unequal institutional practices and allow for change to these practices from within (Billo & Mountz, 2016; Smith, 2005). In Smith's (2005) conceptualisation, institutional ethnography begins with an examination of the everyday realities of the institution, which she terms the "standpoint". This involves the perspectives and concerns of the people located within an institution, examined through interviews, observations and other data collection methods. As outlined in more detail below, for this institutional ethnography, the standpoint involved various forms of data collection with UCT students, around their experiences of space within the University.

From this standpoint, the broader institutional processes and practices are examined, typically through an analysis of various institutional texts, policy documents, and interviews with policymakers, to explore how participants' lives are organised within the institution. The methodology begins with the everyday (e.g. students' perspectives, experiences and constructions), but also ultimately intends to investigate institutional policies and practices (Taber, 2010). However, institutional ethnography has been critiqued for largely ignoring in-depth spatial analysis and utilising mapping only metaphorically. The influence of a geographic approach, such as feminist geography, can help to offer "more sophisticated socio-spatial understandings of institutions" when undertaking an institutional ethnography (Billo & Mountz, 2016, p. 215).

3.3 Visual Research Methods

Within and across the stages of this institutional ethnography, several visual research methods were employed to collect the data. Visual research methods are an important technique for research into higher education, as higher education institutions are intrinsically visual spaces, in which there has been a shift towards multimodality (Metcalfe, 2016). Multimodality can be defined as a greater variety of semiotic resources or modes of meaning-making (Gourlay, 2010; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001). This shift to multimodality can be seen in the increased use of visual approaches and digital technologies within higher education processes and practices (such as PowerPoint in classrooms; interactive online resources; image-heavy university websites; and institutional branding and marketing). Students' engagement with and participation in higher education is increasingly complex and visual.

Photography can capture rich detail about the people, processes, and contexts in educational settings (Lodico et al., 2006). A focus on the visual within research into higher education offers a compelling way to unpack ideologies of pedagogy, and dominant cultural norms, underlying many of the processes and practices in higher education. In line with this, Howes and Miles (2015) propose that photography has the potential to offer a powerful critical approach to research on education. They argue that exploitation through education is sustained by "power over representation and through relations of domination" (p. 4), and through the "misrecognition" of these power dynamics by those who experience this marginalisation and exploitation (see Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). If this process of exploitation is sustained by misrecognition, then photography can help clarify this misrecognition and expose the processes of exploitation. Photography allows for vital questions around representation and images, such as who constructs images, how are they

constructed, and in what ways are they interpreted and disseminated (Howes & Miles, 2015). Howes and Miles (2015) conclude on the value of the visual in research into education:

> Images are used in the process of mediating conversations across linguistic, cultural and across boundaries between experience and inexperience, explicitly serving the role of facilitating and promoting conversation and communication, directly creating the possibility of encounters between people otherwise constrained and limited by social conventions, positions of power, and hierarchy (pp. 15-16).

Nevertheless, visual methods are an often neglected approach in the study of higher education. Most research tends to rely on non-visual data collection encompassing textual practices, such as the analysis of surveys, transcribed interviews or focus group discussions. While these methods are undoubtedly important, the dominance of text-centric research may hinder a thorough exploration and deeper engagement with the progressively more multimodal higher education environment (Gourlay, 2010; Metcalfe, 2016). Visual methods such as photography and mapping are useful for providing a dynamic and nuanced understanding of how students understand and navigate campus spaces (Samura, 2016a). Visual methods have been used successfully in prior higher education research in South Africa (e.g. Botsis & Bradbury, 2018; Chisolm et al., 2009). This research has demonstrated, for example, that inclusion of visual data collection can ground the exploration of students' experiences in relation to affect and embodiment, and allow for a reflective stance from which to explore everyday experiences (Botsis & Bradbury, 2018).

In comparison to other social science disciplines, psychology, the disciplinary home of this dissertation, has yet to fully embrace the value of visual methods of data collection, such as photovoice (Brunsden & Goatcher, 2007; Reavey, 2011). Although visual methods have certainly been used in psychological research (e.g. Kessi, 2013; Malherbe et al., 2019), traditionally within the mainstream discipline of psychology, the use of images has been

restricted to research and practice with children or others considered "less 'able' to communicate thoughts and feelings" (Reavey, 2011, p. xxvii). This is somewhat curious as methods such as photovoice have much to offer research in psychology which – as with research in higher education – continues to rely predominantly on linguistic methods of data collection when seeking to understand participants' lived experiences (Brunsden & Goatcher, 2007; Reavey, 2011). Research in psychology has traditionally taken a "fundamentally mono-modal approach" (Reavey, 2011, p. 5). Reavey (2011) argues that the "rich embodied and spatial (amongst others) texture of experience cannot be fully captured by language-based/monomodal perspectives" (p. 5). Visual methods are, for example, useful for considerations of identity and other psychological phenomena.

Furthermore, visual research methods are useful for research into space (Samura, 2016a). Visual methods have been used successfully in previous South African higher education research into space, most prominently in the studies of racial segregation, in which researchers have photographed, filmed or mapped on paper, students' interactions in various university spaces (e.g. Alexander, 2007; Alexander & Tredoux, 2010; Koen & Durrheim, 2010). Spatial research in general, and in higher education specifically, calls for innovative techniques rather than traditional research methods (Ferrare & Apple, 2010; Gildersleeve & Kuntz, 2011). It can be difficult for participants to articulate experiences of institutional space (Cox, 2011), and analysis of space can be obfuscated by the intangibility of physical space (Shields, 2006). Drawing on Massey (2005), Beyes and Michels (2014) suggest that since space is mimetically unrepresentable, more unusual and experimental methods are necessary in research and writing on space, including, for example, drawings of mental maps of space. Specifically, in relation to race and ethnicity, Knowles (2003) asserts that a visual ethnography that examines "place as environment-in-the-making and marking by ethnicity would make a valuable contribution to our understanding of the texture of ethnicity and race"

(p. 98). Participatory visual methods, such as photovoice, have also been suggested as useful methods for studies of space in education (Cox et al., 2012; Samura, 2016a). As spatial analysis of education is still relatively recent, it is important to develop and test a diversity of methodological tools that may help understandings of how space matters in educational contexts (Ferrare & Apple, 2010).

3.4 Data Collection Methods and Procedure

As shown above, it is important to use a diversity of data collection methods in critical educational research involving space, and to incorporate varied, multi-layered data collection processes when conducting an institutional ethnography (Runswick-Cole, 2011). I thus used a wide range of data collection methods, with the aim of producing and collecting both textual and visual data. Broadly, the study comprised two strands of data collection. However, as is customary when conducting ethnographic work, these strands were not discrete, and often different types of data collection would coincide. The campus observations and archival research, for example, were undertaken periodically throughout the dissertation process. The first strand, or in Dorothy Smith's definition, the "standpoint" of the institutional ethnography, comprised data collection with students who use university space. The second strand of data collection included interviews with staff members, institutional stakeholders and policymakers involved in the organisation and production of campus space in various ways. It also included my own observations around campus; and collection and analysis of historical and contemporary institutional documentation. Figure 1 below provides a diagrammatic overview of this institutional ethnographic process, which will be expanded on in the rest of this chapter.

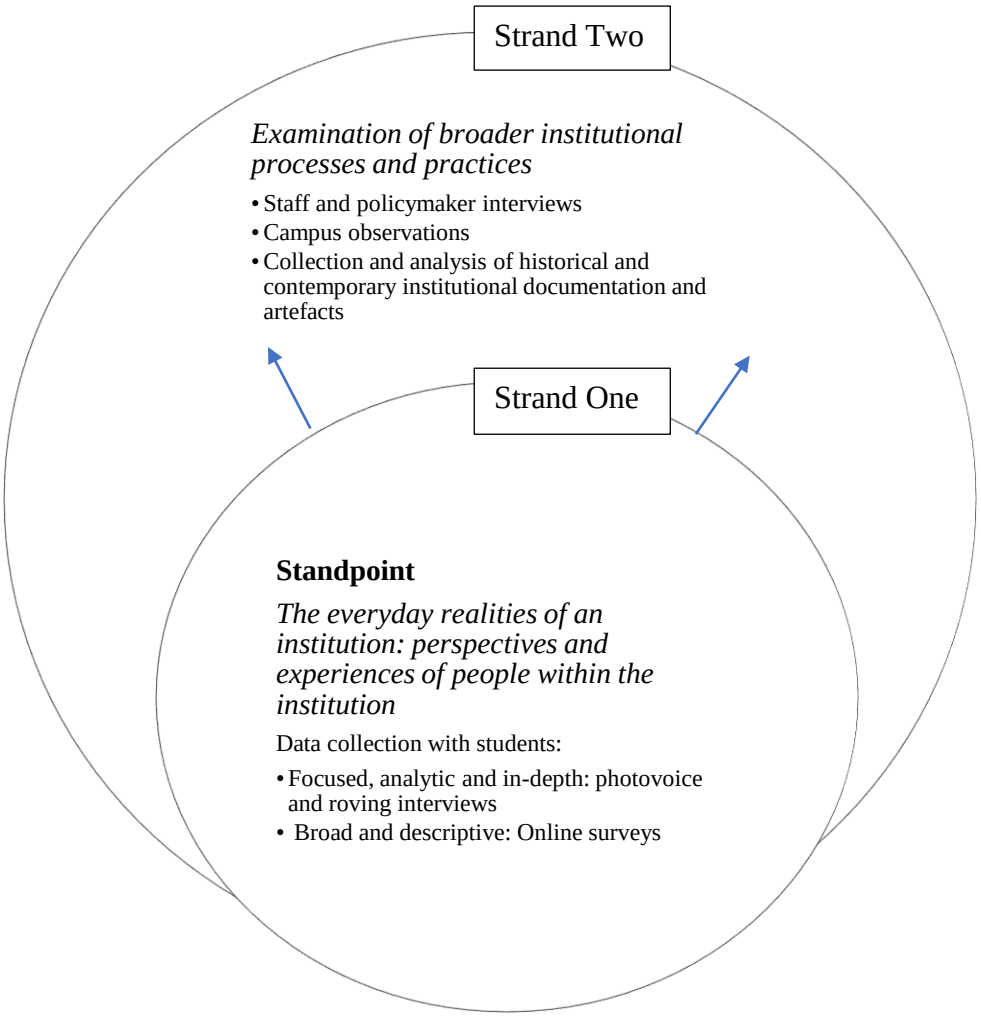

***Figure 1**: Outline of the Institutional Ethnographic Data Collection Process*

3.4.1 Standpoint: Data Collection with Students

The data collection with students sought to capture both the breadth and depth of students' experiences and their construction of campus space and identity. This thus entailed in-depth, multi-staged data collection with a smaller sample of students exploring their identities and use of space, as well as shorter, online surveys conducted with a larger sample of students that produced descriptive data. For clarity, Table 1 below provides an overview of the three types of student-participant data collected, which are elaborated below.

Table 1

Overview of Student-Participant Data Collection

Data collection method	Data produced	Description
Photovoice Process	1. Focus group transcripts (textual) 2. Reflective mental maps (textual and visual) 3. Photo-stories (textual and visual) 4. Follow-up interview (textual)	An in-depth data collection method that produces rich, multimodal data from a small sample of student-participants, gathered over eight months.
Roving Interviews	1. Roving interview transcripts (textual)	A spatialised data collection method with a small sample of students, resulting in textual data produced during movement through and in space and place.
Online Surveys	1. Survey answers (textual) 2. Reflective mental maps (textual and visual)	A data collection method aimed at capturing largely descriptive multimodal data from a larger sample of students, providing a snapshot into a wider range of students' perspectives and experiences.

3.4.1.1 Photovoice. This first component of the student-focused data collection involved researcher-instigated, participant-generated multimodal data collection through photovoice methodology. Photovoice is a participatory action research (PAR) methodology in which participants depict and reflect on aspects of their lives, using photography and sometimes writing (Wang & Burris, 1997). First used by Wang and Burris in the 1990s as a tool for public health research, it has steadily gained momentum and popularity across a variety of disciplines (Latz, 2017). Photovoice methodology aims to stimulate critical dialogue; empower participants; reach policymakers through photographic exhibitions; and

ultimately foster social change (Strack et al., 2004; Wang & Burris, 1997). Although photography is an important component of a photovoice project, beyond the creation of images, the exhibition and dissemination of the photo-stories are vital stages of the photovoice process. As Howes and Miles (2015) emphasise in their discussion of photography within critical research in education:

> The process of photography can facilitate representation by people who are unfairly represented, or unrepresented, in the discourses that circulate within education … Images provide a means of representation that is powerful enough to challenge or at least disturb misrepresentation as part of critical research process. What images do, however, depends very much on the process of which they are part. Images alone are not enough (p. 224).

The three main influences on photovoice are feminist theory and in particular, the notion that those best placed to understand something are those affected by it; Freirian conscientisation which enables individuals to become agents of change in their communities; and documentary photography with its emphasis on social issues (Strack et al., 2004; Foster-Fisherman et al., 2005).

Photovoice has been used successfully in research into higher education before, both in South Africa and in other contexts (e.g. Boonzaier & Mkhize, 2018; Clowes et al., 2017; Cornell & Kessi, 2017; Hotchkins & Dancy, 2017; Kamper & Steyn, 2011; Means & Jaeger, 2013; Strack et al., 2018), and in some instances to explicitly explore student identity (e.g. Meharg et al., 2018). Much of this research (including my own previous research) has shown the power of photovoice in reaching key institutional decision makers in higher educational institutions and foregrounding the perspectives of students (see Clowes et al., 2017: Cornell et al., 2015; Strack et al., 2018). Beyond just the participatory element of visual methods such as photovoice, photography has the potential for engaging directly with power. Photography

has the power to make explicit what is often unknown, unspoken or tacit within particular processes and dynamics of power, even to those embedded within these processes (Howes & Miles, 2015). When students can share their stories and experiences with other students, staff and policymakers, through their involvement in the photovoice process and the exhibition, this can enable students to see the structural and political challenges underlying their personal issues and difficulties in higher education. This can promote the potential for change and activism around issues students face (Clowes et al., 2017). However, despite the promising potential of photovoice in higher education research with students, it is a relatively under-utilised approach, in comparison to more established traditional research methods in higher education (Metcalfe, 2016). Within the photovoice research on higher education, a limited but growing number of studies have examined space in some way, in South Africa (e.g. Clowes et al. 2017; Shefer et al. 2017) and internationally (e.g. Minthorn & Marsh, 2016; Wee, 2019). This emerging research highlights the importance of space and the potential value of using photovoice in spatial research into higher education to reveal and challenge dominant oppressive practices.

In this photovoice phase of the project, participants were asked to document their experiences of space and identity in higher education, using photography, drawing and some writing. A focus on images can be a powerful means for an investigation of identities as it may enable participants to document potentially sensitive or painful experiences in a less threatening way than in a straightforward interview (Gourlay, 2010), and equally, images may convey elements of an affective experience that go beyond textual representation.

The outline for the photovoice process was as follows:

Phase 1: Focus groups. At the beginning of the photovoice process, I held five focus groups with participants to discuss identity and space (please see Appendix A for the interview schedule). The focus groups were conducted in the Psychology Department and

were audio-recorded and transcribed with the permission of the participants. These focus groups were all conducted in English.

Table 2

Focus Group Details

Focus group no.	Length of focus group	Number of participants
1	41 minutes	5 participants
2	42 minutes	4 participants
3	52 minutes	4 participants
4	58 minutes	5 participants
5	50 minutes	6 participants

In total, 24 participants were involved in this focus group aspect of the photovoice process. Unfortunately, not all the participants who were involved in the initial focus group participated in all of the phases of the photovoice process. This was mostly due to students' workload and other time commitments. Participant attrition is common in photovoice studies, which require a longer time commitment from participants than many other types of qualitative data collection (Latz, 2017).

Phase 2: Reflective mental maps. Typically, this phase of the photovoice process involves the participants' production of short written personal reflections. However, because of the key focus on space in the study, the participants were instead asked to draw reflective mental maps depicting their experience and use of space on campus. In total, 11 of the students who participated in the photovoice process produced reflective mental maps. A further 27 reflective mental maps were produced by other student participants as part of the online survey.

Mental mapping is a well-established method in the discipline of geography (see Gould & White, 1986). These maps are spatial representations of individuals' associations with particular places, as well as the features they consider important to their experience of these places and spaces (Brunn, 2012). As Brunn (2012) suggests, "these highly personal maps are considered extensions of the person who prepared or drew the map" (p. 100). These maps are visual testimonies illustrating how people see themselves and the spaces and places that they occupy (Brunn, 2012). In research in education specifically, mental maps have been used successfully to examine education spaces (see Beyes & Michels, 2014; Brunn, 2012; Gieseking, 2007; Linville, 2009), and have also previously been used within photovoice projects (Lykes & Crosby, 2014).

Phase 3: Photography training and photo-story planning. The participants attended a half-day training workshop with a professional photographer. They were given training in the practical use of cameras, as well as the more stylistic elements of photography such as composition and lighting. In this training session, the participants were loaned digital cameras. They had the opportunity to practise and experiment with these cameras under the guidance of the photographer. As part of this training workshop, some photographic ethics were also discussed, as further described in the Ethical Considerations section below.

***Phase 4: Production and exhibition*.** A total of 12 students produced photo-stories and participated in the exhibition. The participants were given approximately six weeks to take their photographs and construct their photo-stories. They were required to email their captions to me, and to return the photographs on the camera SD cards. These were then printed at my expense. The photo-stories were then put on display in an exhibition to which members of the public, university students and staff, and university policymakers, were invited. The exhibition was titled "Who am I at UCT?" and was held in the Department of Psychology in the PD Hahn Building in the entrance foyer (see Appendix B for the exhibition

opening poster). The exhibition opening took place on 25 October 2018 and remained on display in the foyer for the next month. Spatially, this was a strategic venue to display the photo-stories, as anyone entering or leaving the Psychology Department had to pass through this entrance foyer space which was flanked with easels displaying the participants' photo-stories (see Figures 2 and 3 below). This entrance foyer is also a space in which students often mingle as they wait to meet tutors in the tutor room (see Figure 3), or as they wait to participate in studies held in research labs on the other side of the foyer (not pictured). In this way, being placed in a busy campus thoroughfare rather than in a separate room, the exhibition itself could act as an intervention into campus space.

Figure 2: *Photovoice exhibition in the Department of Psychology Entrance foyer, photo by Josie Cornell*

Figure 3: *Photovoice exhibition in the Department of Psychology Entrance foyer, photo by Josie Cornell*

Phase 5: Follow-up interview. In some iterations of the photovoice process, a follow-up interview in which the researcher discusses with participants the photographs that they have taken is standard procedure (see Latz, 2017). In my previous experience of conducting photovoice research with university students, the participants had written detailed captions to accompany their photographs. They had provided a form of photo essay rather than a series of lone visual images. This is not to say that the photographs themselves were not analysed or were not valuable without their written explanations. However, it meant that follow-up interviews in which the participants explained or provided context to their photographs, as is often done in photovoice, were unnecessary. I had thus not initially planned on conducting any follow-up interviews with the photovoice participants. I already had ample data and did not want to further intrude on the students' time. However, whereas most students had provided detailed written captions with their photo-stories, one participant created somewhat abstract and poetic rather than descriptive photo-stories, often with single word captions. Although I was content for the photographs to speak for themselves, and I acknowledge that visual data can stand without textual accompaniment, I was concerned that in my

interpretations and analysis I would ascribe meanings to these photo-stories and experiences to the participant that went beyond what she intended (a risk that is, of course, implicit in all types of analysis). I thus held a follow-up interview with this participant about her photo-stories during which I showed the participant her printed photographs and asked her to reflect on her thought process behind the photographs.

3.4.1.2 Roving interviews. As discussed above, it can be difficult to elicit meaningful discussions on space (Beyes & Michels, 2014). The multimodality of the photovoice process offered a valuable insight into space, but I felt it would be helpful to complement this data with other methods of data collection targeted at capturing spatial experience. I thus also conducted 11 roving interviews[3] in which I walked around campus with students discussing places on campus as we moved within and between spaces. These interviews were all conducted in English. In all instances except for one, the students were new participants to the study and had not participated in the photovoice process. This was because I felt that the photovoice process had already made substantial demands on those who had participated. One of the participants from the photovoice process, however, expressly asked if she could participate in a roving interview as well. She wanted to demonstrate to me more explicitly her experience of campus as a wheelchair user, which she felt had not been sufficiently captured in the focus group discussion.

'On-the-move methods', such as roving interviews are gaining increasing prominence in institutional ethnographic work (see Raulet-Croset & Borzeix, 2014) and research into higher education (see Inwood & Martin 2008; Holton, 2017; Holton & Riley, 2014; Wee, 2019). Walking interviews with students offer "insights into how particular places are

[3] Building on Inwood and Martin's (2008) use of 'roving focus groups' to examine white privilege and racialised landscapes at the University of Georgia, I utilised the term 'roving interviews' to describe these interviews. However, it should be noted that 'roving interviews' are more commonly referred to as 'walking interviews'.

enmeshed with a student's multiple identities" (Holton & Riley, 2014, p. 63). Falling within what has been termed the 'mobilities turn' (Sheller & Urry, 2006), mobile research such as roving interviews may allow researchers to study spatial practices in context and engender more direct (co)production of knowledge between the researcher and participant (Holton & Riley, 2014). Roving interviews conducted with participants in movement through space, rather than sitting down, stationary 'in place', can become "three-way dialogues", involving not only the interviewee and interviewer but also the environment through which the interview meanders (Hall, 2009). As such, place and space are under discussion but beyond this also "underfoot and all around, and…that much more of an active, present participant in the conversation, able to prompt and interject" (Hall, 2009, p. 582).

As much as space was *spoken about* out loud by participants for the benefit of me, the researcher, and my voice recorder, space was also active in prompting and provoking feelings and impressions that would be absent in a more traditional interview setting (see Raulet-Croset & Borzeix, 2014). I certainly felt the 'active participation' and prompting of the campus in the roving interviews: wind drowning out voices on the recordings; rain forcing us to take different routes or shelter undercover; sunburn after a particularly sunny day on campus; careful navigation through crowds of other students; needing to pause frequently and catch our breath while walking hills and steps from Middle to Upper Campus; broken lifts diverting planned routes; greetings and glances from other students along the way; construction blocking pathways of one participant's wheelchair; access control points requiring special permission to enter; labs we could not speak in; places we could not record in. These interjections from the campus surrounding us offered meaningful nuance to the narratives the students wove about their journeys around campus. By way of illustration (and discussed further in the analysis chapters), one participant while describing his sense of comfort and belonging on campus was greeted and hailed by a friend mid-interview:

Alex[4]*: All of my friends they tell you that Alex knows everybody… I don't think it's entirely true, I mean I've only bumped into two people I know so far [during the roving interview], usually-*

Josie*: It is a quiet day today though*

Alex*: Usually, it's at least six, and when I think about how some people contextualise the University as a space, they say it's unfriendly, that it's cold, for me that's not there because there's always someone that I know, there's always someone that I can talk to, and – Hi Ben! – [pauses mid-sentence and greets friend who walks past him]*

In these semi-structured interviews, I met students on Upper Campus and I asked them to show me the spaces they spent time in on a typical day. However, as Hall (2009) also found, often the transition spaces between the specific locations that participants wanted to visit provided more opportunities for meaningful and interesting discussion. I asked the participants about the various places we moved through, as well as some questions about their identities and experiences of space more generally (see Appendix C for the broad interview schedule).

3.4.1.3 Student surveys. As I outlined above, in addition to the more in-depth data collection with the students in the photovoice study and the roving interviews, I employed an online survey to capture a greater sample of students' experiences and perspectives of campus space. As part of the survey, students were also asked to create a reflective mental map (see Appendix D for the survey interview schedule). Not all students who completed the survey produced a reflective map. In total, 45 students completed the online survey. Of those students, 27 also created reflective maps.

[4] Except where explicitly stated otherwise, all names of participants used in this dissertation are pseudonyms.

3.4.2 Second Strand of Data Collection: Examination of Broader Institutional Processes and Practices

As per the institutional ethnographic process, the second strand of data collection sought to explore broader institutional processes and practices related to space. Broadly, this type of data collection was aimed at examining institutional space at a policy level. I was interested in interrogating the University's construction and organisation of space, as well as adding contextual depth to the data collected with the students. This was done through the three specific types of data collection outlined in Table 3, and is discussed in more detail below.

Table 3

Overview of Second Strand of Data Collection

Data collection method	Data produced/collected	Description
Individual interviews	Interview transcripts	Semi-structured interviews with staff members, policymakers and stakeholders involved in the organisation and construction of campus space.
Campus observations	Fieldwork notes and photographs	Ongoing researcher observations of campus spaces and places throughout the data collection process.
Archival research and collection of found data	Found historical and contemporary institutional data relating to space.	Collection and analysis of a wide range of both contemporary and historical visual and textual institutional documentation and artefacts in which space is documented and discussed.

3.4.2.1 Interviews with staff members and policymakers. Individual interviews were conducted with staff members, policymakers or stakeholders within the university administration who deal with campus space in various ways. A total of eight participants were interviewed. Five of the eight interviews took place in the participants' offices on campus. Two interviews took place in campus coffee shops; and one interview took place online. The interviews were all audio-recorded with the permission of the participants. Greater detail on the roles of these participants and my motivation for interviewing them is provided in the 'Participants and Recruitment' section below, but the overview of interviews conducted in this phase of the project is provided in Table 4:

Table 4

Overview of Staff Member and Stakeholder Interviews

Staff member or stakeholder	Interview schedule
Physical planning architect, Department of Properties and Services	Appendix E
Landscape architect, Department of Properties and Services	Appendix F
Disability Unit staff member	Appendix G
Member of the Naming of Buildings Committee (NOBC)	Appendix H
Member of the Works of Art Committee (WOAC)	Appendix I
Staff member involved in memorialisation project	Appendix J
Former SRC president	Appendix K
Special Advisor on Transformation to the Vice-Chancellor	Appendix L

3.4.2.2 Campus observations. In line with institutional ethnographic procedure, I carried out observations of campus space throughout the study. I made fieldwork notes and took photographs of various campus spaces and places throughout the time I spent on campus as a PhD student. These fieldwork notes and photographs documented, for example, artworks on display, commemorative plaques, statues, posters, advertisements, notice boards, student society activities, and lecture theatre organisation.

3.4.2.3 Collection of institutional documentation. I also searched through, collected and analysed pre-existing multimodal (specifically visual and textual) contemporary and historical institutional documentation and artefacts (e.g. university prospectuses, the university website, advertising material, official correspondence, archival material relating to space, official institutional histories and strategic planning documents) in which University

space is documented, depicted and discussed. This data was sourced online, from institutional policymakers and staff members, in the university library and through university archives. Educational institutions are filled with artefacts which can convey underlying "assumptions about the nature of education" (Lodico et al., 2006, p. 133), and when analysed can reveal much about the status quo within institutions. Institutional documents, which often have anonymous or collective authorship, put forth multimodal discourses which produce and authenticate a particular reality and naturalise certain understandings of space and place (see Matus & Talburt, 2009).

3.5 Participants and Recruitment

3.5.1 Student Participants and Recruitment

The participants in the first phase of the project were all full-time registered students at UCT. As a central theoretical assumption of this dissertation is that identities are fluid, flexible and constructed, student participants were asked to self-identify rather than to tick off race, gender or sexuality categories. Table 5 (for photovoice participants) and Table 6 (for roving interview participants) below outline participants' *self-described* identities. There were too many student survey participants to include a participant details table in the body of this dissertation (see Appendix M, Table 9 for these participant details). In most cases, participants employed relatively conventional identity categories, but some students, as will be seen below, provided other self-descriptors (e.g. "I'm a flower that's blooming") which defied more traditional categorisation. In many instances, these identities were elaborated on at a later stage of the focus group discussion or within the photo-stories produced. For example, Anele, who described himself as a 'blooming flower', also discussed at length his experience of being a black, first-generation university student. However, this table provides only the identities given by the students when asked outright to self-identify, and not the

other identity descriptors that emerged in later aspects of the data collection. There were also some instances where details of students' self-descriptions, in combination with their faculty and discipline demographics, risked revealing their identities. In these cases, some details were anonymised.

Table 5

Photovoice Participant Details

Pseudonym	Self-described identity	Faculty	Discipline	Level of study
Mapula	"A mixed-race student but at UCT given the demographic of the Province most people identify me as coloured"	Humanities	Psychology & Organisational Psychology	2nd year undergraduate (UG)
Maria	"Mixed race but, for demographic purposes, a coloured female"	Humanities	Gender Studies, Social Development, & Psychology	3rd year UG
Katherine	"A white Christian woman"	Humanities	Psychology & Film Studies	1st year UG
Zayaan	"A Muslim female"	Humanities	Linguistics & Psychology	1st year UG
Stella	"I'm from Kenya. I'm a black female"	Humanities	Social Work	2nd year UG
Siya	"From Gugulethu" "An extrovert"	Humanities	Social Work	1st year UG
Zoliswa	"Black, queer and a traditionalist"	Humanities	Environmental and Geographical Sciences (EGS) & Psychology	3rd year UG
Thabo	"A black male"	Humanities	EGS & Psychology	2nd year UG
Babalwa	"A young black woman"	Health Science	Speech and Language Therapy	3rd year UG
Charlie	"A witty intellectual who loves to dance"	Science	Computer Science and Mathematics	2nd year UG

Unathi	“A light skinned, obviously, black person”	Engineering and the Built Environment (EBE)	Mechanical Engineering	3rd year UG
Dominique	“Free spirited and faith filled”	Humanities	Social Work	1st year UG
Rajesh	“Although I’m meant to be Hindu, I’m just not religious”	EBE	Mechanical Engineering	3rd year UG
Ella	“White female” “A wheelchair user”	[Anonymised]	[Anonymised]	1st year UG
Samantha	“I don’t fit the normal student kind of type”	Commerce	Management Studies	3rd year UG
Lauren	“I’m a caring person” “I’m also domesticated. I stay at home a lot, I live far, I live in Bellville”	Health Science	Occupational Therapy	3rd year UG
Megan	“Coloured female from the Cape Flats”	Humanities	Psychology, Sociology & Social Development	1st year UG
Nicole	“My kind of identity is more shaped around my personality and my mind”	Humanities	Psychology and Sociology	2nd year UG
Aisha	“Black gender-queer person” “I straddle middle class”	Humanities	Organisational Psychology, Psychology & Drama	1st year UG
Lubabalo	“A weird extrovert that doesn’t like people”	Science	Computer Sciences and Game Development	3rd year UG
Esme	“A mature adult from the Cape Flats”	Humanities	Social Work	1st year UG
Zinzi	“Black woman from the township, a fully able-bodied person”	Humanities	Psychology and Organisational Psychology	2nd year UG
Lihle	“Black female”	Humanities	Philosophy and Psychology	1st year UG
Anele	“I’m the light in this University” “I’m a flower that’s blooming”	Humanities	Psychology, Social Development and Social Work	2nd year UG

Table 6

Roving Interview Participant Details

Pseudonym	Self-described identity	Faculty	Discipline/Degree	Level of study
Abigail	"I'm a white female"	Humanities	Psychology and Sociology	2nd year UG
Alex	"My father is [Eurasian nationality]" "My mother is an Indian woman from Pretoria"	Humanities	Psychology and English Literature	2nd year UG
Carla	"I'm a white woman"	Humanities	Psychology and History	3rd year UG
Nick	"White, male"	Law	Law and Business French	2nd year UG
James	"White, middle-class man"	Commerce	Business Science Property Studies	2nd year UG
Amanda	"Coloured, cisgendered, I'd say working-class female"	Humanities	Psychology and Sociology	2nd year UG
Anthony	"A white, heterosexual male"	Humanities	French and Film and Media	1st year UG
Rachel	"Female, white, middle-class"	Humanities	History	Doctoral
Itumeleng	"A black male"	EBE	Chemical Engineering	Masters
Alakhe	"A black cisgender, homosexual [laughs]"	Humanities	Psychology	Masters
Akul	"A human being" "I grew up in India"	EBE	Chemical Engineering	Doctoral

The sample of student participants for all stages of the data collection with students was heterogeneous in terms of race, gender, sexuality, language, ability, religion and class. It was important that students from a range of intersecting identities were included as it illuminated the differential and skewed experiences of privilege and oppression that are related to

different intersecting identities. The study included both undergraduate and postgraduate students from across all faculties and a range of disciplines. The only inclusion criterion was that the participants were registered as full-time students at the time of their participation in the study.

For the photovoice phase, students were recruited through the Department of Psychology's Student Research Participation Programme (SRPP)[5]. I placed an advertisement on the SRPP section of the *Vula*[6] online site, inviting students to participate in the study. As per the criteria of the SRPP, all students must be given an equal chance of participation in a study. Thus, all interested students were asked to indicate their willingness to participate. After one week, 141 students had expressed interest in participating. From those 141 students, I randomly selected 30 students to participate in the photovoice study, using an online randomiser.

The students who participated in the roving interviews were recruited through both SRPP and word-of-mouth. For the SRPP recruitment, a similar advertisement was placed on the SRPP *Vula* site. This time students were selected on a first-come-first-served basis and all students who signed up participated. A total of three students were recruited in this way[7]. The remaining eight participants were recruited through word-of-mouth through my own student networks. Students who participated in the online surveys were mostly recruited through the SRPP system. The survey was also emailed to the UCT student body through the Department of Student Affairs. It should be noted that the use of the SRPP system meant that the majority

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[5] SRPP is a points system used to promote and facilitate student involvement as participants in the research activities of the Department of Psychology. Undergraduate students are required to sign up as participants for a certain number of research studies per course, for which they receive points which go towards their final course grades.

[6] *Vula* is UCT's online learning platform, used to support UCT courses as well as UCT-related groups and communities.

[7] The low number of students recruited through SRPP in the roving interviews, by comparison with the photovoice component, is a result of the time of term when the advertisement was placed.

although certainly not all – of the participants were drawn from the Humanities Faculty. This was a pragmatic decision based on the difficulty of recruiting student participants outside of the SRPP system, particularly for time-consuming data collection processes, such as photovoice.

3.5.2 Staff and Policymaker Participants and Recruitment

In the second strand of data collection for the study, the participants were staff members, policymakers or stakeholders within the university administration who deal with campus space in various ways.

Two participants were interviewed from the Physical Planning Unit of the Department of Properties and Services, which was important as this unit is responsible for space management, allocation, design and planning on campus. This includes both the building of new campus buildings and the refurbishment of existing campus spaces. A physical planning architect and a landscape architect were interviewed about their work in this unit and their conceptions of campus space more broadly. These two participants were recruited through purposive sampling.

One staff member working within the Disability Unit under the Office for Inclusivity and Change was interviewed about the work of the unit. One of the student participants in the photovoice phase who is a wheelchair user had described the pivotal role that the Disability Unit plays in her experience of campus space and had mentioned this staff member as someone whom she had found to be especially helpful. In line with the institutional ethnographic process, I then sought to interview this staff member to add further context, at the level of policy, to the data emerging from this student's everyday experience.

Two staff members were interviewed on the basis of their current positions on University committees, specifically the Naming of Buildings Committee (NOBC) and the

Works of Art Committee (WOAC). The NOBC is responsible for both the naming of newly built buildings on campus and the *re*naming of older buildings. The WOAC is tasked with the management of the University's art collection, specifically the acquisition and commissioning of new artworks, and curating the existing collection within campus spaces. Further discussion and detail on the work of these committees and their role in the organisation of campus space feature in the context and analysis chapters to follow. Both these committee members were recruited through purposive sampling.

One staff member was interviewed based on involvement in a slave memorial project on campus. This project was concerned with memorialising the slave burial ground over which a university building is built. This staff member was recruited purposively, based on recommendations from the participants interviewed from Properties and Services.

The final staff member, Professor Elelwani Ramugondo,[8] was interviewed in relation to her role as Special Advisor on Transformation to the Vice-Chancellor from 2015 to 2016. She was appointed by then Vice-Chancellor, Professor Max Price, in response to the student protests, to "ensure the necessary executive focus on the transformation project" (Price, 2015, para. 3). Within this role, Prof Ramugondo was actively involved in much of the recent transformation of campus space. She was, for example, instrumental in establishing the two task teams to review the names of buildings and the artworks on campus.

The last semi-structured interview I conducted was with a stakeholder rather than staff member. The participants drawn from both the NOBC and WOAC recommended that I interview the former president of the Student Representative Council (SRC) in 2015, Ramabina Mahapa[9], who had been influential in changing the terms of reference used by both committees. Ramabina Mahapa had been centrally involved in many of the interventions into

[8] Prof Ramugondo consented to be named in the dissertation. I will discuss this further in the Ethical Considerations section below.
[9] Mr Mahapa similarly consented to be named.

and attempts to change space carried out during the student protests from 2015. Ramabina Mahapa is currently a postgraduate student and researcher within a research unit at the university. However, my interest in interviewing him was not so much related to his current day-to-day experiences of space as a student on campus, so he has not been included in the outline of student participants. Rather, I was more interested in his work and influence at a *policy* level as a student leader.

3.6 Data Analysis

3.6.1 Chapter Five: Multimodal Discourse Analyses

In the first analysis chapter, I explore the multiple, contested identities produced for UCT, using the Jameson Plaza as a lens. In this chapter, the data was analysed using multimodal discourse analysis, a form of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA seeks to capture the interrelationship between power, ideology and language (Fairclough, 1992). The principal concept underlying CDA is that power relations are implemented and negotiated through discourse. Within mainstream research into education, positivist and so-called replicable and objective means of analysis are often given preference, while critical analysis that attends to matters of privilege and inequality is often neglected. CDA can offer a more complex and nuanced understanding of practices and processes within education (Rogers, 2004). CDA can take many forms, as van Leeuwen (2006) suggests: “there is no theoretical orthodoxy in critical discourse analysis” (p. 291). Ultimately, the different approaches to CDA are united by a shared focus on critiquing the hegemonic discourses underpinning and shaping systems of inequality, injustice and oppression (van Leeuwen, 2006). This method of analysis is thus well suited to the aims of both critical psychology and geography and their attention to structures of power, as discussed above.

Traditionally, CDA was focused purely on the analysis of language; however, theorists began to consider ways that meaning is communicated through other semiotic modes besides language (Machin & Mayr, 2012). These modes include images, sounds and movement (O'Halloran, 2011). In particular, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) argued for the need to analyse visual features in much the same way that CDA traditionally studied language. They coined the term "multimodal analysis" to describe the analysis of other semiotic modes that extends beyond the study of language. Language and text can still be analysed, but in combination with these other phenomena (O'Halloran, 2011). The inclusion of a multimodal analysis can offer CDA a more thorough set of tools for a systematic analysis of data (Machin & Mayr, 2012). A multimodal discourse analysis thus involves the elucidation of the semiotic resources people choose to use to realise communicative aims. In this chapter, I analysed the semiotic choices (both textual and visual) that participants made in representing, discussing, and documenting the Jameson Plaza, which allowed me to draw out the broader discourses of the Plaza connoted throughout the data set. These discourses signify and enable particular identities and actions (Machin & Mayr, 2012). This involved coding the textual and visual semiotic resources present throughout the data set, in relation to the Jameson Plaza. I organised the delineated codes into thematic categories, which were then used to derive two discourses, namely: *a place of belonging and connection* and *a place of alienation and discomfort*. I then examined how these two discourses relate to students' intersecting identities and affective experiences on campus.

3.6.2 Chapters Six and Seven: Multimodal Thematic Analysis

In the second and third analysis chapters, I employed a multimodal thematic analysis informed by critical spatial and psychological theory. Thematic analysis involves the examination of recurrent patterns of meaning (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As such, thematic

analysis was useful for this chapter as it comprises the search for common themes across a broad and varied data set, such as that generated by this study. There is no uniform list of steps for thematic analysis; however, I followed the guidelines outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). Firstly, I carefully read and re-read the focus group, roving interview and individual interview transcriptions, the survey answers, and the photograph captions, and examined the photographs and maps. I then coded the data set by allocating particular words or phrases to the semiotic resources within the data set to illustrate the focus or topic of that piece of data. I repeated the coding process three times, sometimes adapting the codes I assigned, and produced a list of codes. I then searched for contradictions and patterns within the list of codes, through which I generated a series of themes. Once I had decided upon the relevant themes through this process, I analysed these themes within the frameworks of critical geography and feminist decolonial psychology.

The first set of themes that I identified within the data related to the role of space in the power dynamics that govern and impact students' experiences on campus. Drawing on critical spatial theory, I identified these themes as constituting interconnected dimensions of the UCT's power geometries (see Massey, 2005, 2009). These themes were the focus of the second analysis chapter (Chapter Six). I then employed a decolonial feminist psychology focus to examine the particular affective experiences and student identities produced through these three themes. Table 7 below provides an outline and description of these themes.

Table 7

Chapter Six Overview: The Institutional Power Geometries of UCT

Theme	Spatial memory and material familiarity	Material campus symbolism	Spatialised social practices and relations
Description	Campus space is materially familiar to some students when they first arrive on campus	Architecture and design of campus space, buildings, décor, artwork and statues on display – and the names chosen to label space – send messages to the students and staff who use the space	Rules and norms governing ways of behaving in campus space
Examples	Relate to proximity e.g. students grow up close to campus Relate to legacy e.g. other family members attended or worked at UCT	Coheres with the material culture in which some students were raised e.g. same type of architecture as the schools students attended Absence of certain representations or presence of stigmatising representations	Relate to specific educational functions of space e.g. quiet in the library, eating in the cafeteria Relate to broader hegemonic discourses e.g. particular way of speaking that is acceptable on campus
Affect and Identity	Influences the students' sense of belonging when they first arrive on campus Influences how students imagine themselves as UCT students and what identities they construct.	Material symbolism is inspiring or alienating, depending on students' intersecting identities.	Different expressions of identity acceptable across different campus spaces
Role of Power	Underpinned by apartheid spatial planning (historically white-only middle-class suburbs surrounding UCT) and by apartheid and colonial-era education policy: UCT as a historically 'white-only' university	Campus designed and built with a particular student in mind i.e. white, male, Christian, cisgender, middle-class and heterosexual	Colonial and neoliberal discourses constructing the 'ideal' UCT student influence norms that are dominant across particular spaces

Emerging from the considerations, in Chapters Five and Six, of the mutual co-constitution of students' identities and those of the spaces they occupy, for Chapter Seven I analysed the data relating to how students use, make, navigate, manage and change campus spaces. Chapter Seven focused on the themes identified across the data set of students' everyday use of space, and specifically the spatial coping strategies, adaptations and tactics students use to negotiate and manage their daily lives on campus. These themes are outlined in Table 8 below:

Table 8

Chapter Seven Overview: Using and Making Place at UCT

Theme	Anchoring the self in place	Refuge from space and retreat into place	Navigating through space, adapting to place
Description	Specific places students anchor themselves within the broader cartography of campus	Spaces which offer a retreat from the broader campus spatial dynamics and institutional power geometries	Adaptations, workarounds, solidarities and resistances students use when moving through campus space
Affective function and role in identity performance	Places to which students repeatedly return, a location of familiarity from which they negotiate and develop agency over the rest of campus, and anchor their student identities	Places which engender an affective state of refuge through the avoidance of specific places; connection to others in place; and connection to places of nature	Allow for agentic engagement with campus space and enable students to successfully navigate campus and engender affirming student identity

3.7 Ethical Considerations

3.7.1 Consent and Confidentiality

Ethical approval for this study was granted by the Department of Psychology's Ethics Review Committee on 16 October 2017, prior to the commencement of any data collection (reference no. PSY2017-050) (see Appendix N). As this study involved student and staff participants, I was also required to apply to the Department of Student Affairs (DSA) for permission to access students for research purposes and to the Department of Human Resources for permission to access staff members for research purposes. Verbal and written informed consent was obtained from each participant (see Appendix O and P for informed consent forms). For the photovoice process, informed consent was obtained for the study as a whole, as well as for each focus group and the one follow-up interview. Participants were encouraged to participate in the entire study but were informed that they were free to withdraw from the study at any point. Participants were informed at the beginning of the focus groups and interviews that the discussions would be recorded and that the recordings would be transcribed. To protect their anonymity, the student participants have been given pseudonyms and any references to potentially identifying information have been removed from the extracts quoted in the analysis. In the two instances where participants' faces were visible in the photographs, the decision of whether to blur their faces in the exhibition was left up to the participants. Staff and policymaker interviewees have not been given pseudonyms, but their names have not been included and they have only been described by their job titles or roles. The two exceptions to this participant anonymity were Ramabina Mahapa and Professor Elelwani Ramugondo's whose real names were included. While writing up this dissertation I realised that some details that I included about Ramabina Mahapa would be hard to anonymise. I therefore contacted him and provided him with the

description I had written about him in this chapter and asked whether he was satisfied with the level of detail I provided. In response, he directly requested that his name should be used in the research as he was comfortable to have everything that he had shared during the interview being publicly attributed to him. He agreed to sign a second consent form confirming his preference for direct acknowledgment of his identity in the research (see Appendix Q). Similarly, as she is the only staff member in the role of Special Advisor on Transformation to the Vice-Chancellor, it would be impossible to anonymise Professor Ramugondo while still describing the role she played and the transformation work she undertook. She indicated in writing that she was happy to be named in the dissertation.

3.7.2 Ethical Issues Relating to Secondary Participants

Issues around the ethics of photography were discussed in the training session. As the photographs taken by the participants were exhibited publicly, the participants were required to obtain verbal consent from individuals who feature prominently in their photographs. The decision to blur the faces of photographic subjects was taken by the subject. In some instances, photograph subjects wanted their faces blurred, and in others they were happy to remain identifiable. Although there were no photographs of this nature, it was made clear that photographs of minors and any photographs that might endanger or compromise the dignity of the subjects would be excluded.

3.7.3 Incentives

Those participants who were recruited through SRPP were awarded two SRPP points for participation in the focus groups; one SRPP point for producing a reflective mental map; and three SRPP points for producing their photo-stories. Those involved in the roving interviews were awarded three points. Those students who participated in the online survey

were given one SRPP point for completion of the survey and reflective map. The number of points per activity is based on the time required for participation. No other incentives were offered.

3.7.4 Risks and Benefits

The risk to the participants was minimal. Although none of the participants made use of the service, they were given the option of being referred to the appropriate UCT support service for counselling, should they become distressed in talking about and exploring their personal experiences of campus. A potential benefit for participants in the photovoice component was the development of their photographic skills. More generally, the participants were given an opportunity to share their views and experiences about UCT and contribute in some way to the ongoing process of transformation.

3.8 Reflexivity

Qualitative research methods, and feminist, decolonial and anti-racist frameworks in particular, emphasise the importance of considering researchers' reflexivity. This includes a rejection of the concept of neutrality of the researcher; reflection on the researcher's particular intersecting identities, intentions, ideological assumptions, and role; and consideration of the power dynamics between the researcher and participants (Boonzaier & Shefer, 2006; Burr, 1995). It has been important for me to continually reflect on the part that I play in shaping and influencing the data that is produced, and the research process more generally. As an institutional ethnography, this research was conducted within and on the institution in which I have spent a decade enrolled as a student. In many ways, I am doing 'insider' research on my own university, which inevitably impacted how fellow students and

the staff I interviewed related to me and the kinds of responses they gave, as well as the kinds of access I could achieve in my observations of campus space.

However, the position of 'insider' is not fixed, and what is deemed 'inside' depends on my varied identity positioning within the institution (Trowler, 2016). The fact that I am a white, middle-class, cisgender female, heterosexual, able-bodied, third-generation UCT student, inevitably affects how participants (many of whom may fall outside of those particular identities) may speak about issues of identity and space at UCT in front of me. I thus strove to ensure that all participants felt comfortable and secure discussing their experiences openly in front of me, through non-judgemental and affirming listening and questioning practices within the interview contexts. Furthermore, due to my various intersecting identities, I occupy a secure and privileged position within this institution and in comparison to many of the other students in this study, and I have always felt a sense of comfort and belonging. Consequently, I sought to avoid furthering the marginalisation of other students by speaking for them. Photovoice as a PAR methodology was thus important, as it provided the opportunity for participants to be actively involved in the research process. This has the potential to diminish or at least mediate my role, voice and influence to a certain extent (Brydon-Miller, 1997).

Furthermore, given the spatial emphasis and ethnographic nature of the project, my self-reflexivity should extend beyond a consideration of my intersecting identities, to my own interactions with, and experiences and constructions of campus space. As Beyes and Michels (2014) suggest, "after all, researching and writing on the spaces of the universities implies being in the middle of them and partaking in their multiple, heterogeneous and interrelated spatial trajectories" (p. 24). Thus, I have attempted to consider my spatial reflexivity as a UCT student in my own right (see Acton, 2017; Beyes & Michels, 2014), where relevant, throughout the chapters that follow and by creating my own reflective map of campus below.

Figure 4: *My reflective map*

Figure 5: *Self-portrait in UCT bathroom door beneath recently replaced bathroom sign*

My interpretations of the University space inevitably shaped how I conducted this study and interpreted the data. Thus, I do not offer an analysis of my reflective map as such but include it here so that my experiences and perspectives of campus space are made explicit. To this

end, I have also asked my two supervisors – as individuals who have influenced the production of this dissertation – to provide their own reflective maps (see Figures 6 and 7 below) to illuminate their particular reading of campus space. Our representations of campus space are shaped by our positionalities in relation to the campus, mine as a postgraduate student, Professor Shose Kessi's as an academic and now Dean of the Humanities Faculty, and Professor Kopano Ratele's as an academic employed by a different university.

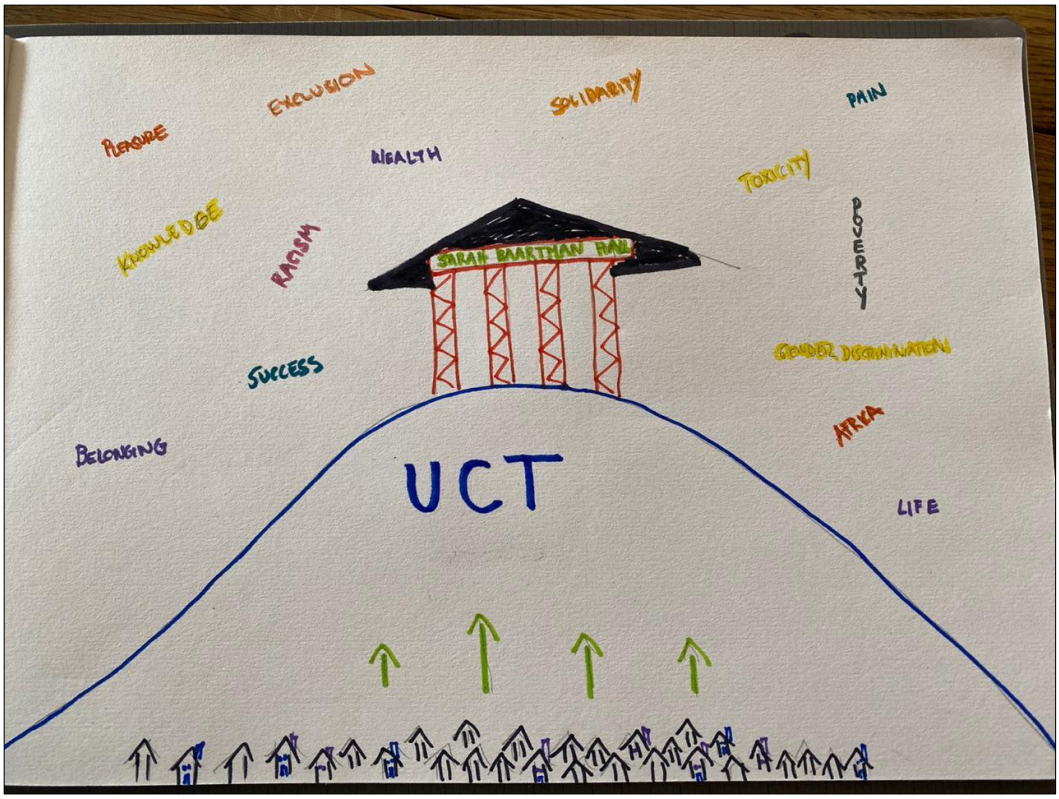

Figure 6: Shose's reflective map

Figure 7: Kopano's reflective map

Ultimately, I am aware that it is impossible to negate entirely my role as the researcher in the research. Heleta (2016) asserts that the involvement of white academics in the project of decolonisation of higher education requires continued self-reflexivity, acknowledgement of privilege, and the unlearning of exploitative and oppressive knowledges. I have tried to do this throughout the study.

3.9 Chapter Summary

In conclusion, this chapter outlined the methodology used in this dissertation, and the rationale behind this chosen design. A detailed overview of the analysis procedure was undertaken, and finally, ethical and reflexivity considerations were put forward. In the next chapter, I will provide a detailed background on the higher education institution under study, the University of Cape Town. Typically, descriptions of the study setting would be included

briefly as part of this methods chapter. However, as this dissertation takes the form of an in-depth institutional ethnography, a more thorough context to the institution is required.

Chapter Four: Study Setting - Situating UCT

In this chapter, I provide a detailed background on the university under study, UCT. Typically, descriptions of the study setting would be included as part of the methods chapter (Chapter Three). However, as this dissertation takes the form of an in-depth institutional ethnography, a more thorough context to the institution is required. This chapter is necessary for a comprehensive understanding of the contemporary dynamics under exploration in the analysis and serves to anchor the analysis chapters to follow. I begin by outlining the hegemonic public discourses circulating about UCT. I then provide an overview of the process of transformation at UCT, looking specifically at student and academic staff demographics and institutional culture. The rest of the chapter offers a detailed background on space at the University. This begins with a description of the spatial organisation of the current campuses, and is followed by an account of historical space at UCT and the design and construction of the campus. This chapter concludes with an outline of the contemporary processes for the design, organisation and adaptation of UCT space, and documents some recent spatial and material transformations on campus.

UCT is a historically white-only English-medium university based in Cape Town in South Africa. It is South Africa's oldest university and was founded in 1829, initially as a high school for boys known as the South African College (SAC). In 1874, the School separated from the College, and the South African College School (SACS)[10] was opened (Phillips, 1993; Walker, 1929). By 1900, SAC had evolved into a university college offering post-matriculation courses, and in 1918, UCT was formally established as a university (Walker, 1929; Phillips, 1993). UCT has six faculties, Commerce, Engineering & the Built Environment, Health Sciences, Humanities, Law and Science. The most recent publicly

[10] SACS still exists today and is the *alma mater* of a number of participants, as discussed in more detail in the analysis chapters.

available statistics indicate that in 2018, there were 28 600 students (17 552 undergraduates, 11 048 postgraduates) enrolled and 4 544 staff members (1 208 academic and 3 336 professional, administrative support and service staff) (UCT, 2019a).

4.1 Historical and Contemporary Discourses around UCT

In line with the critical psychology approach that informs this institutional analysis of UCT, this sub-section traces the historical origins of the hegemonic discourses framing the institution. An understanding of these dominant discourses provides valuable contextual background for the dynamics at play within this university, which are further explored in the analysis chapters to come.

In dominant contemporary public discourses, UCT is constructed as one of South Africa's 'elite' universities (e.g. ANA, 2019; BusinessTech, 2016) and a 'leading institution on the continent' (Khumalo, 2019; Steyn & van Zyl, 2001). This elite status is ostensibly based on UCT's position in international ranking systems. UCT is currently ranked first in Africa on several 2020 university ranking systems, such as the Quacquarelli Symonds 2020 Ranking lists (UCT, 2020a) and 136th globally in the latest 2020 Times Higher Education World University Rankings (Boonzaier, 2019). While discourses of UCT's 'greatness' are reinforced by these ranking systems, the discourses actually precede these contemporary rankings. These discourses are rooted in the historically racialised and inequitable structuring of higher education in South Africa (Robus & Macleod, 2006). In part, this relates to the far greater provision of resources to white-only institutions during apartheid (see Bunting, 2006a). However, beyond the historical material inequity between South African universities, universities in South Africa are still framed within a discourse of 'white excellence/black failure'. This framing denotes historically white-only universities such as UCT as superior to historically black-only institutions (see Robus & Macleod, 2006).

The ‘leading university’ discourse is directly linked to Eurocentrism; maintaining UCT’s status on these rankings has been used frequently as an argument against transformation (Steyn & van Zyl, 2001). However, the roots of this discourse run deeper than apartheid-era racialised structuring of higher education. UCT’s ‘elitism’ can be traced back to the early days of the SAC and colonial education in the Cape in the 19th and early 20th century. UCT, and its earlier iteration the SAC, were continually positioned as ‘leading the way’ amongst the early education institutions in the country. In one of the official histories of the University, Ritchie (1918) constructs the SAC as a paragon of education in the country:

> It may be noted that the South African College has been to a great extent the centre from which all the great developments in higher education in South Africa have proceeded. The various institutions which have arisen since 1829 have all been, consciously or unconsciously, modelled upon it, and it has been rarely the case that any forward step has been taken save when the South African College showed the way (p. 674).

In a revealing illustration of the longevity of these discourses, this quote from Sir Benjamin D’Urban[11] praising the institution and its role is proudly presented in both Ritchie’s (1918) history of UCT and Veitch’s (2003) contemporary history of SACS:

> From the instant … that I had had an opportunity of making myself acquainted with and of appreciating the design and scope and object of South African College, I became convinced of its immense importance to the best interests of the Colony (Ritchie, 1918, pp. 99; Veitch, 2003, p. 18).

Although widespread and deeply rooted, the discourses of UCT’s ‘dominance’ and ‘superiority’ have not gone uncontested. Most recently, for example, the RMF and FMF

[11] A Governor of the Cape Colony between 1834 and 1838, known for his particularly brutal treatment of the black population.

student protests directly challenged the construction of the University's 'excellence' and have highlighted the myriad of ways that the University inadequately responds to the needs of the country.

As this dissertation draws on both critical psychology and critical geography frameworks, the role of space in developing and entrenching these discourses is also considered. As further discussed in section 4.3, discourses of UCT's superiority are reflected in the physical design and construction of the University campuses. UCT's prime location and surrounding natural beauty also feed into these broader discourses.

4.2 Transformation at UCT

4.2.1 The Colonial and Apartheid Years

From its formation the SAC was intended as a school for white, Christian boys and was instituted to provide an education comparable to that of European educational institutions (Steyn & van Zyl, 2001). Scottish education traditions in particular strongly influenced the early development of the School and College, and many of the early teachers and lecturers were intentionally recruited from Scotland (Ritchie, 1918; Walker, 1929). Eurocentrism is thus "deeply inscribed in its culture" and has contributed to the broader recognition and prestige UCT has received in the Euro-American higher education landscape, cementing discourses of the 'elite university' in Africa (Steyn & van Zyl, 2001, p. 4).

In the early days of the SAC, the inclusion in the student body of both Afrikaans- and English-speaking students was considered progressive and unusual (Phillips, 1993). In his official history of the College, Ritchie (1918) reflected on this 'diversity' of the student body: "from the very first the College emphasised its non-racial and non-denominational standpoint and it has consistently held that position throughout its history" (p. 673). The term 'non-racial' here is in reference to the inclusion in the student body of both English- and

Afrikaans-speaking settlers (Welsh, 1979). Similarly, the 1919 Development Scheme document that outlined the requirements of the University for potential funders and donors proudly asserted that the University:

> inherits from the South African College a connection with both sections of the people. In it English and Dutch have for nearly a century met in equal numbers and on an equal footing, and much has been done to bring the two races into intimate contact (no author, 1919, p. 5).

These quotes reveal much about the College and University's constructions of race throughout the 19th and early 20th century. The description of English- and Afrikaans-speaking settlers as encompassing "both sections of the people" highlights the complete erasure of the black population in the College discourses. For at least the first 100 years of the history of the College and then University, the inclusion of black students was so unimaginable that it did not even warrant official mention. Phillips (1993), in his official history, describes a more explicit exclusionary stance by the University a few years later: "The University's Council admitted in 1923 that it believed that 'it would not be in the interests of the University to admit native or coloured students in any numbers, if at all'" (p. 114). The strongest objection to the inclusion of black students in the student body was for the disciplines of Fine Art and Medicine (Phillips, 1993). Space was deeply implicated in Senate objections. The Senate reasoned that black medical students could not be allowed to treat white patients or black Fine Art students to draw white models. Further, Senate felt that the admission of students into these two disciplines would require new buildings, as well as models and patients of different races (Phillips, 1993).

In the 1930s a few black students ('coloured' and 'Indian' students only) were admitted to the University. By 1937, the total was only about 40 students. During the 1940s, the numbers of black students increased but remained low. In 1945, 76 'coloured' students,

26 ‘Indian’ students and five ‘African’ students were enrolled in the University (Phillips, 1993). Black students were prohibited from participating in any social activities with white students and were forbidden to live in university residences (Perez & London, 2004).

The dawn of National Party rule and the establishment of the ‘grand apartheid’ regime in 1948 brought substantial changes to the higher education system (Davies, 1996). Universities were officially racially segregated under the Extension of University Education Act of 1959. This Act was pivotal in formally “extending apartheid ideology to higher education” (Perez & London, 2004, p. 765). White-only institutions, such as UCT, were prohibited from admitting black students without special permission, from employing black staff, and from using teaching material the government considered ‘subversive’ (Bunting, 2006b; Davies, 1996; Kamsteeg, 2016). The Afrikaans-medium white-only universities were in full support of the apartheid government’s ideologies and thoroughly implemented racist apartheid education policies (Bunting, 2006b). The English-medium white-only universities were less supportive of the apartheid regime and government control of higher education. Throughout most of the apartheid period, UCT “took an anti-government stand” (Steyn & van Zyl, 2001, p. 17) and UCT was one of the ‘open universities’ that specifically opposed academic segregation from the 1950s onwards (Luescher, 2009).

However, it should also be noted that UCT has been accused of colluding with the apartheid government, both directly and indirectly (Davies, 1996, Phillips, 2019; Steyn & van Zyl, 2001). For example, for twenty years after the introduction of the apartheid policy of separate universities, UCT fought for ‘academic non-segregation’ but allowed informal social segregation to persist on campus (Phillips, 2019). Davies (1996) points out that although English-medium institutions proclaimed themselves as ‘open’ and engaged the National Party in much “ideological sniping in public”, these Universities and the State were actually “never more than occasionally hostile” (p. 322). Ultimately, UCT and the other English-speaking

universities tended to focus more on academic freedom and their own institutional autonomy than the rights of black South Africans (Davies, 1996; Phillips, 2019). Certainly, many staff and students at the University opposed the apartheid regime and actively participated in the anti-apartheid struggle. Some lecturers and students were targeted, banned and even jailed by the National Party (Phillips, 2019), but as Steyn and van Zyl (2001) argue:

> The actions of many of UCT's academics who risked for their beliefs can, and must, be recognised. This oppositional role in relation to crude and blatant injustices was undoubtedly right and honourable. However, it had the unintended consequence of protecting the university from examining its own roots in the inequitable colonial system and from recognising blind spots that accompany privilege and are manifest in more subtle forms of exclusion and discrimination (pp. 17-18).

Phillips (2019) also highlights how UCT's outward opposition to the State masked their complicity in upholding oppressive systems in this country:

> UCT, like many who thought of themselves as liberal in early apartheid South Africa, was caught between protest and privilege. It vigorously opposed high-profile apartheid policies if these threatened its own vested interests and the world it had fashioned for itself at Groote Schuur, but at the same time it was oblivious to or blatantly ignored inequities built into that very world already well before 1948. For all UCT's belief that it and Wits were liberal institutions … the reality is that it was at the same time willy-nilly rooted in white-dominated South Africa, atop a racially structured hierarchy which, wittingly or unwittingly, it helped to maintain (p. 272).

It was not until the 1980s that any serious attempts were made to admit black students to the University. UCT was one of the first universities to desegregate in a meaningful way, although the numbers of black students remained relatively low. In 1989, a few years shy of the official dismantling of apartheid in 1994, despite representing approximately 90% of the

population black students constituted 24.7% of the student body, and by 1993 black student enrolment had increased to over a third of the student population (Luescher, 2009).

With regard to gender, women[12] were first officially admitted to the SAC in 1887 (Ritchie, 1919; Walker, 1929). The opening of the College to (white) women[13] is theatrically described by Walker (1929) as a homage to Queen Victoria, emphasising again the College's desire to maintain British Imperial ties: "The College appropriately celebrated the jubilee of that great lady, Queen Victoria, by throwing open wide its gates to women. Ten promptly availed themselves of the invitation, and so the College became adorned with the 'South African pearls'" (Walker, 1929, p. 49). The proportion of white women in the student body increased steadily during the apartheid years. By 1991, for example, women constituted 41% of the student body and men 59% (Steyn & van Zyl, 2001)[14].

4.2.2 Transformation at UCT since the Dismantling of Apartheid

Post-1994, UCT implemented an affirmative action or so-called 'race-based' admissions policy, which was used until the end of 2015.[15] To redress the racist admissions policies of the past, applicants' race was considered when students were selected. For each of the designated apartheid race categories, a different number of points (calculated from students' matriculation grades) was required for admission. Since the dismantling of apartheid, the demographic breakdown of the student body has shifted substantially and more accurately represents the demographics of the country. Black students are now in the

[12] While there were undoubtedly gender non-conforming students in the student body, official statistics for this time do not capture this data.
[13] SACS, which split off from the College in 1874, has until this day remained a boys-only school (Veitch, 2003).
[14] In the available statistics for these times 'male' and 'female' were the only categories reported. This is probably reflective of the rigidity of data collection on gender, rather than a lack of gender non-conforming students in the student body.
[15] From 2016 onwards, the admissions policy has considered a hybrid of three mechanisms when selecting applicants: their Admissions Points Score (calculated from school-leaving results); their scores on entrance examinations; and their Weighted Points Score (calculated using the 'disadvantage factor' applicable to each applicant). See UCT, 2014 for more information on this policy.

majority. The most recently available statistics for 2018 indicated 45% (12 423) as 'generic black' ('black South Africans', 'coloured', 'Indian' and 'Chinese' South Africans), and a further 22% (6 211) as 'white', while 18% (5 005) were identified as 'racially other', and 15% (4 268) as 'international' (UCT, 2018).

Post-1994, the percentage of women students has grown steadily with women reaching 50% of the student population by 2004 (DoE, 2005). From 2005 onwards, women have consistently constituted around 50% or more of the student population at UCT (DoE, 2006). In the 2018 Transformation Report, women were just under 53% of the student population (i.e. n = 14 767), while 14 students identified as "transgender or other gender" (UCT, 2018, p. 16).

Demographic transformation of the academic staff profile at UCT has been comparatively stagnant. This was a key grievance raised during the wave of student protests (see GroundUp, 2015). Black women, in particular, have been historically underrepresented in the academic staff (Mangcu, 2014). Writing a year before the student protests, Mangcu (2014, para. 7) lamented: "there is not a single black (African) South African woman who is a full professor at UCT". Since the protests, there have been some high-profile appointments, such as that of the new Vice-Chancellor, Professor Mamokgethi Phakeng, in 2018. Nonetheless in 2018, according to the University's *Transformation Report,* only 26% of academic staff were 'generic black South African' and a mere 9% were 'black South African'. The report suggests, however, that "significant progress was made in developing the black South African professoriate in 2018" (UCT, 2018, p. 24). In terms of gender, the *Transformation Report* indicates a "predominance of women across most race groups" (UCT, 2018, p. 25). According to the recent UCT Fact Sheet on Women in Research at UCT, 48% of the permanent academic staff at UCT are female (UCT, 2019b). This more equitable representation of women academic staff is comparatively recent. For example, the earliest

Faculty Reports available on the Institutional Planning Department website illustrate that in 2009 men comprised 61% of the total academic staff and women 39% (UCT, 2010a).

Despite great leaps in the demographic change of the student body since 1994, it is clear that transformation at the University more broadly has been haphazard. The dominant university experience for many black and LGTBIQ+ students in the two decades since apartheid has often been one of marginalisation and stigmatisation (Boonzaier & Mkhize, 2018; Kessi & Cornell, 2015). This growing sense of alienation among the student body culminated in Law student Chumani Maxwele flinging faeces at the statue of Cecil John Rhodes[16] on UCT's Upper Campus (see Maxwele, 2016) This symbolic action was followed by months of sustained student protests as part of the nationwide RMF and FMF student movements, during which the institutional culture of UCT faced fierce criticism[17]. The University has been criticised for the Eurocentric focus in curricula, the predominance of English on campus, the paucity of black academic staff, the dominance of racialising stereotypes of black students and staff, rising exclusionary tuition fees, the outsourcing of workers, a lack of material change in the artwork and symbols around campus, and colonial architecture, and cisgender and heterosexual bias (Boonzaier & Mkhize, 2018; Steyn & van Zyl, 2001; Kessi & Cornell, 2015; Lorenzen et al., 2015; Mahapa, 2014). This is not to say that there have not been transformation successes or significant changes in the UCT educational landscape since 1994. Particularly since the start of the protests in 2015, various noteworthy transformation efforts have been implemented and substantial energy has been expended by students and staff in putting transformation on the institutional agenda.

[16] Rhodes was a British imperialist and mining capitalist who was Prime Minister of the Cape Colony between 1890 and 1896. The oppressive 'native policy' of Rhodes' government is considered a precursor to the discriminatory apartheid policies (Knudsen & Andersen, 2019).

[17] For a comprehensive list of RMF demands see the RMF *Change.org* petition at: https://www.change.org/p/the-south-african-public-and-the-world-at-large-we-demand-that-the-statue-of-cecil-john-rhodes-be-removed-from-the-campus-of-the-university-of-cape-town-as-the-first-step-towards-the-decolonisation-of-the-university-as-a-whole

However, in the 25 years since the dismantling of apartheid, the process of transformation has been and continues to be deeply contested, uneven and sporadic.

4.3 Space at UCT

UCT is made up of four campuses: the Groote Schuur Campus in Rondebosch; the Health Sciences Campus in Observatory; the Hiddingh Campus in Gardens (home to the Michaelis School of Fine Art and the Drama Department); and the Breakwater Campus at Cape Town's V&A Waterfront. In total, UCT's campuses cover 25km^2 across Cape Town (UCTb, 2019). The Groote Schuur Campus, which is the University's main campus, is divided into Upper Campus, Middle Campus and Lower Campus. Located at the foot of Devil's Peak, these three campuses are spread down the mountain slope, with Upper Campus situated at the highest altitude and Lower Campus bordering the main road in the suburb of Rondebosch below. Lower Campus encompasses several residences, administrative buildings, the Baxter Theatre, the College of Music, a large bus stop for Jammie Shuttle (the free campus shuttle service), and the University gym and other facilities and buildings, which intermingle with the surrounding suburb. The border between Lower and Middle Campus is blurred, but Middle Campus is home to a few academic buildings (specifically, the Kramer Law Building and the School of Economics Building), as well as the cricket pavilion, and several administrative buildings. Middle Campus is separated from Upper Campus by the M3 highway, with a pedestrian subway joining the two campuses (see Figures 8 and 9).

Figure 8: *Border of Middle and Upper Campus, photo by Shaun Swingler*

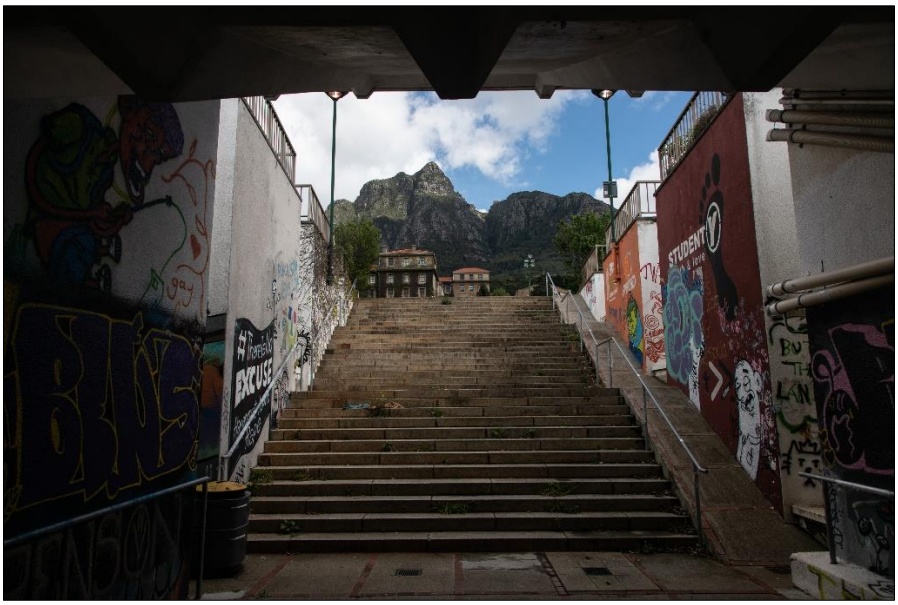

Figure 9*: Subway joining Middle and Upper Campus, photo by Shaun Swingler*

Although the Jammie Shuttle provides free transport for students between the three sections of Main Campus, it is also possible for abled-bodied students to walk between the campuses. There is typically a throng of people walking up and down the slopes between these three campuses.

***Figure 10**: Three Terraces of Upper Campus, photo by Shaun Swingler*

Upper Campus (see Figure 10) itself is further divided into three tiers or 'great terraces': the bottom terrace that borders Middle Campus and the highway is the 'play terrace', and comprises the rugby fields[18] (colloquially known as 'The Green Mile') and the Sports Centre.

[18] This prominence given to the rugby fields in the heart of Upper Campus – rugby being a historically white and male sport - is one of many examples of how the University's historical privileging of white masculinity is spatialised.

Above this, separated by a ring road (renamed ‘Madiba Circle’ after Nelson Mandela in 2014 see Figure 11), is the ‘living terrace’.

Figure 11*: Madiba Circle and the Sports Centre (far right), photo by Shaun Swingler*

The ‘living terrace’ houses the two original residences: the men-only residence, Smuts Hall (see Figure 12 below), named after former Prime Minister, Jan Smuts[19], and the women’s-only residence, Fuller Hall (see Figure 13 below), named after Maria Fuller[20].

[19] Smuts was prime minister of South Africa between 1919 and 1924, and then again from 1939 to 1948. Smuts was actively involved in the oppression and colonial dispossession of the black population of this country, and the implementation of many of the policies which laid the groundwork for the apartheid system.
[20]Fuller was one of the first women enrolled in the SAC. Fuller also persuaded the Council to pay female lecturers the same rates as men.

Figure 12: *Smuts Hall Residence, photo by Shaun Swingler*

Figure 13*: Fuller Hall Residence, photo by Shaun Swingler*

It is in the area just below the Madiba Circle and between these two terraces that the now-removed statue of Cecil John Rhodes was situated. In the space where the statue once stood is a boarded-up plinth.

Figure 14: *Rhodes statue being prepared for removal in 2015, photo by Shaun Swingler*

Figure 15: *Boarded-up plinth of the Rhodes statue in 2020, photo by Shaun Swingler*

Above the ‘living terrace’ is the ‘academic terrace’. At the centre of the academic terrace is the Jameson Plaza[21] and the Sarah Baartman Hall[22] (formerly known as the Jameson Memorial Hall). These three terraces are connected by the ‘Jammie Steps’, a series of flights of large stone steps which run down from the Sarah Baartman Hall onto the Plaza, then continue below onto the ‘residence terrace’, across the Madiba Circle, and end where the boarded-up plinth now stands. These terraces are symmetrically located on an axis from the Summer House structure on Middle Campus up the slope of the mountain (Phillips, 1993). The centre of the axis runs through the Sarah Baartman Hall, the Plaza, the Jammie Steps, the boarded-up plinth, the War Memorial and the Summer House (see Figures 15, 16 and 17 below).

***Figure 16**: War memorial and the Sarah Baartman Hall, photo by Shaun Swingler*

21 Leander Starr Jameson was a British colonialist and friend of Rhodes who led the failed Jameson Raid. He was the 10th Prime Minister of the Cape Colony.

22 Sarah Baartman was a South African Khoi woman born in 1789, who was enslaved and exhibited across Europe in the 19th Century, as part of various ‘freak show’ attractions and so-called ‘scientific’ displays. Upon her death, her brain, skeleton and sexual organs were put on display in a French museum and only returned to South Africa for burial in 2002 (see Gqola, 2008).

Figure 17: *Upper Campus viewed on the central axis, photo by Shaun Swingler*

Figure 18: *The Summer House, Middle Campus, photo by Shaun Swingler*

Running through the centre of the academic terrace is the tree-lined University Avenue. In the 15 minutes between classes (most lectures are 45 minutes on the hour, with the remaining 15 minutes allotted for movement between classes), University Avenue and the pavements on either side bustle with crowds of students. The academic terrace buildings face onto University Avenue from either side and are grand and ivy-covered. Buildings then extend up behind the first row of buildings facing onto University Avenue.

4.3.1 Peeling Back the Layers of UCT's Spatial Palimpsest: A Brief Genealogy of University Space

In the almost two hundred years since the formation of the SAC in 1829, this institution has occupied, constructed and steadily accumulated a swathe of different spaces across the city. Many of these buildings and spaces were originally built to serve other purposes and people and held other meanings before they came to house this university. UCT's campuses form an architectural palimpsest of the varied histories, lives, people, events and experiences of this city. Space is "etched by time" (p. 79), and always shaped by the social and political systems of the past (Knowles, 2003). As Knowles (2003) remarks, "we inherit and inhabit a built environment which is not of our making and which may or may not be easily adapted for our use" (p. 97). Massey (1994) cautions, though, that this does not mean that spaces and places have a singular essentialist history or an internally produced identity. Rather, spaces are always rooted within multiple and changing layers of meaning, where the manifold strata of present(s) and past(s) live side-by-side (Knowles, 2003; Neely & Samura, 2011).

For much of this overview, I have drawn on the three official histories released by UCT and written by UCT academics: Professor William Ritchie's (1918) history of the South African College, based on the minutes books of the Council and Senate meetings; Professor

Eric Walker's (1929) history of the South African College and the University of Cape Town, undertaken at the request of the then University Council; and finally, two contemporary histories of UCT by Professor Howard Phillips (1993, 2019). These can be considered the 'official memory' of the spaces of UCT. This dissertation is not an institutional history of UCT, and thus this section is by no means an exhaustive account of the extensive spaces and places that have made up the SAC and UCT for over two centuries. Instead, this section offers reflections on the University's active spatial archive (Knowles, 2003). I peel back the layers that encompass UCT's spatial genealogy, to help deepen and inform the exploration of the contemporary dynamics of space in the analysis chapters that follow.

4.3.1.1 The first campus spaces: Early days in the city centre. When the SAC was founded in 1829, the first classes were held in Orphan House on Long Street in what is now the city centre. Orphan House, as the name suggests, had been built in 1815 as an orphanage (Veitch, 2003; Walker, 1929). The building was designed by Louis Michel Thibault, South Africa's first trained architect who designed many of the buildings in the early Cape Colony. The SAC occupied the Orphan House [indigenous land ↔ orphanage ↔ school][23] until 1841 when it moved to new premises in the abandoned zoological gardens [indigenous land ↔ zoological gardens ↔ SAC grounds ↔ Hiddingh Campus grounds] (Walker, 1929). These zoological gardens had been established at the top section of the Company's Garden[24] by the Dutch East India Company (or *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC)[25]) in the early 1700s but had gradually fallen into decay. It seems as though initially these premises [indigenous land ↔ zoological gardens ↔ SAC grounds ↔ Hiddingh Campus grounds] were

[23] I use these square brackets throughout to indicate the layering of meaning and the past(s) and present(s) of these spaces and places which exist side-by-side (see Knowles, 2003).
[24] The Company's Garden was set up in the 1650s by the VOC to provide produce to European ships passing the Cape.
[25] The VOC was a government-backed megacorporation of several Dutch trading companies, founded in 1602 to trade with India. The VOC was granted a government charter which gave it the "power to colonise whichever colony it desired and enslaving the indigenous people according to market requirements and VOC political imperatives" (SAHO, 2019a, para. 2).

fairly dismal and ill-suited to house a school. Ritchie (1918) quoted a description from a past pupil who had attended the College in its early days:

> The College itself was on the edge of a desolation … A series of roofless and ruined chambers on one side, with crumbling walls and rusty bars of iron, told of a time when there was some attempt at Zoological Gardens … Adjoining these was a long, low, flat-roofed building, known as the Slave Lodge, where the Negroes captured by Arab slavers were kept till masters could be found for them. In the central space between the Slave Lodge and the College there had been a miniature lake, with wild fowl and a little island - though in my days the lake was dry and the birds were free and one solitary willow tree survived on the little island to weep over the surrounding desolation (p. 113).

In his description of the new premises for the SAC, Walker (1929) remarks that the "atmosphere of the late Zoo was strong about the place. Not only were there the lionesses and the pond, but hard at the back of the College were deserted lions' dens which received such rubbish as escaped the ponds" (p. 22). It is unclear precisely what Walker meant by the "escaped rubbish", but it suggests the long history of the previous functions of the institution's spaces rubbing up against their next iterations, which will be explored in some detail throughout this dissertation.

Just off the top of the Avenue [indigenous land ↔ VOC avenue ↔ public walkway] that runs through the Company Gardens [indigenous land ↔ VOC farm ↔ public gardens], the SAC erected the 'Egyptian Building' (see Figure 19) (Phillips, 1993; Veitch, 2003). The Egyptian Building [indigenous land ↔ SAC building ↔ Hiddingh Campus Building] was named as such because it was built in the Egyptian revival style[26] and there are motifs and

[26] Egyptian Revival Style is a European style of architecture inspired by the imagery and motifs of Ancient Egypt, which became popular after the Napoleonic colonial campaign in Egypt (Ickow, 2012).

imagery of Ancient Egypt on the building ('Egypt', as read through Europe and placed in Cape Town). Now part of the Michaelis School of Fine Art, it is a national monument and the oldest building in South Africa erected for educational purposes (Nteya & Mullins, 2014).

***Figure 19**: The Egyptian Building, Hiddingh Campus, from Veitch (2003)*

Much of the money for the construction of the Egyptian Building on the 'old Zoo' grounds came from the 'Prize Negro Fund' (Walker, 1929, p. 21). This fund was established to "pay for the expenses of apprenticing released slaves, who had been captured by English cruisers from slave ships" (Ritchie, 1918, p. 105). According to Walker (1929), after the slave trade was abolished, part of this remaining fund was then re-appropriated for the financing of College buildings: "The black man can be found in some shape or form at the foundation of most South African institutions" (Walker, 1929, p. 4). The University's history – and the material origins of its buildings and campuses – is intimately bound up with slavery.

The SAC's new grounds were bordered by old slave housing buildings (see Figures 20 and 30) (not to be confused with the Slave Lodge on Adderley Street), which were being used at the time as a women's prison [indigenous land ↔ slave lodge ↔ women's prison].

Figure 20: *Old slave housing, from Veitch (2003)*

Figure 21*: Quad Building today (old slave housing), home to Michaelis art galleries, from Veitch (2003)*

In reference to the proximity of a boys' school to a prison, and in particular to women prisoners, Ritchie (1918) remarked:

> The Government had utilised some of the old slave buildings near the College for a House of Correction for women, and, as there was no very clear separation between the College grounds and the new establishment, parents and others soon began very naturally to complain of the unsavoury influence of women of low character in such close neighbourhood to an educational institution. The agitation continued for some time, but at last [in 1855] the Government very properly gave way and the obnoxious institution was removed" (p. 159).

Walker (1929) further adds somewhat sarcastically that "apparently in the [eighteen] 'forties, [the] environment played a less prominent part in educational theory and practice than it does today, for it was only in 1855 that the nuisance was removed" (p. 22).[27] Walker's outrage suggests that by 1929, the University was aware of the impact of learning spaces on the experiences of students. However, it also reflects the early 19th century positivist understanding of space as a container to be filled (Gulson & Symes, 2007; Valentine, 2001): once the women prisoners are no longer physically present in the space, it is considered 'wiped', ignoring how the embedded meaning of that space as a prison, and previously as a slave lodge, lingers and co-constructs the space. In 1871 the College was granted use of the same building [indigenous land ↔ slave lodge ↔ women's prison ↔ SAC building ↔ Hiddingh Campus Quad building] and its grounds by the Governor of the Cape Colony (Ritchie, 1918). This section of the University continued to expand and was the primary campus of the SAC and UCT until Main Campus was eventually built on a section of the Groote Schuur Estate. Today, the buildings and grounds described in this section remain part of the University as the Hiddingh Campus.

[27] There is an interesting parallel with contemporary Cape Town here. Currently one of the city's most expensive private schools, Reddam House, is located about 500 metres from Pollsmoor Prison, a notorious maximum-security prison.

4.3.1.2 From college to university: Funding the Groote Schuur Campus. When the Union of South Africa was established in 1910, the new Union Government was eager to enact an idea first proposed by Cecil John Rhodes in 1891: the establishment of a single, national university on part of 'his' Groote Schuur Estate in Cape Town (Cooper, 2015b; Phillips, 1993; Maylam, 2005). Rhodes had originally intended to leave his fortune for the construction of such a university but ultimately bequeathed these funds instead to the ongoing Rhodes Scholarships scheme, which funds South African students' attendance at Oxford University (Cooper, 2015b).

The Union government of the time envisioned a national university which would serve as a unifying tool: English and Afrikaans students would attend together, promoting a spirit of reconciliation between the two groups (Phillips, 1993). To fund this proposed university, Jan Smuts (Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa at the time) looked to the estate of the late mining capitalist Alfred Beit, who had been Rhodes' friend and business partner. In his will, Beit had bequeathed £200 000 for the establishment of a university in Johannesburg. Smuts persuaded Alfred Beit's brother, Otto Beit, and Julius Werner (another mining capitalist and associate of Rhodes and Alfred Beit) to redirect these funds to the establishment of a national university on a portion of the Groote Schuur Estate. Werner and Beit agreed and also provided a further £300 000 donation. In 1915, the SAC Council approached the Beit Trustees directly and proposed that the SAC be granted the entire Werner-Beit Bequest and the Groote Schuur Estate land. This would require upgrading the SAC from college to full university status (Cooper, 2015b; Phillips, 1993; Walker, 1929). The Trustees approved this proposal and the 'UCT Bill' to upgrade the SAC, and the UCT Bill was passed in May 1916 (Phillips, 1993). The SAC was formally established as UCT on 2 April 1918 (Phillips, 1993).

It is important to acknowledge here that although the funding and land on which to build the Groote Schuur Campus came from the estates of Rhodes, Beit and Werner, the money in these estates was largely made through the violent exploitation of indigenous people and land in South Africa (Maylam, 2005). As Cooper (2015b) points out when considering the material heritage of the campus:

> Black students often have had black great-grandfathers and great-uncles who worked on the mines, and great-grandmothers and great-aunts who stayed behind in the villages working the crops – all of whose hard labour and sometimes blood contributed significantly to the vast profits made by Beit and Werner, and out of which this UCT upper campus was so splendidly constructed after 1918 (para. 13).

This is another example of the many ways in which the physical campus space owes its beginning to a legacy of colonial violence.

4.3.1.3 The UCT land: The Groote Schuur Estate. The land on which UCT's Main Campus was built was one section of the Groote Schuur Estate. The Groote Schuur Estate encompassed a broad swathe of land on the foothills of Table Mountain across the suburbs of Newlands, Rondebosch, Mowbray and Observatory (de Smit, 1957). It is important to acknowledge that this was, of course, the land of the indigenous people of the Cape. Prior to the arrival of the Dutch and British colonialists, this land on the eastern slopes of the mountain was used by Khoi pastoralists (CPNP, 2002). With the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck[28] and the dawn of the VOC's colonial exploits in the Cape in 1652, the area was seized. The indigenous population was violently expelled from the land. This area was used as a farm by the VOC (Bryant, 2014). The VOC sold the land in 1791 to a Dutch settler

[28] Jan van Riebeck was the administrator for the VOC who landed on the Southern tip of Africa in April 1652 to establish a settlement for the company. He was commander of the Cape of Good Hope colony until 1662 (SAHO, 2019c).

farmer, and in the intervening years, it was occupied by a series of Dutch and British settlers. In 1833, the 'owner' at the time bought the neighbouring Rustenburg Farm to merge with the Estate (de Smidt, 1957). The Rustenburg Farm section of the Estate was home to the Summer House, which today is a national monument. The Summer House was built by the VOC, and as one of the staff members I interviewed described, it was used by the company officials to survey the slaves working in the fields on the Rustenburg Farm[29]. After Rhodes took possession of the Estate, the Summer House was restored by Herbert Baker in 1894 (SAHO, 2019b).

Just below the Summer House (see Figure 18 above) – where the New Economics Building stands today (see Figure 22 below) – was a graveyard for the enslaved people who worked on the Rustenburg Farm (de Smit, 1957). de Smidt (1957) who had lived on this Estate described the graveyard in his account of the history:

> Not far from the Summer House was a spot overgrown, and known as the Slaves' Graveyard. One or two of the graves, however, were of a type which seemed to indicate that persons of a station far less humble had also here found a last resting place (p. 27).

[29] The high school that I attended, Rustenburg High School for Girls, was built on another part of the Rustenburg Estate Farm.

Figure 22: *New Economics Building, photo by Shaun Swingler*

When the New Economics Building was built around a decade ago, parts of the burial site were recovered and construction was halted. A staff member I interviewed explained:

> *It was quite a large walled burial ground with lots of grave stones. They all would have either been indigenous people or enslaved Muslims who were brought from the Indian Ocean, but the site was forgotten for most of the 20th Century. Forgotten*[30] *or silenced depending on who you speak to. During the* [19]*'60s, '70s, the University was radically extended to the Middle and Lower Campus, and the Middle Campus was terraced. Most of the burial ground was destroyed or removed, depending again on who you talk to, so there's very little material evidence, apart from a few bones which are now in safe keeping in the St George's Cathedral.*

[30] I found it interesting that the University had 'forgotten' that there was a burial ground on that site, considering that the first book I checked out in the UCT library on the history of the area clearly mentions it – see the de Smidt (1957) quote.

This resonates with Dolamge's (2017) discussion of the prevalence of North American universities built on the sites of unmarked graves, old prisons and asylums. He asserts that "we continue to actually build universities in service of and on top of the history of eugenics, lifting some bodies upwards toward privilege upon the footings of segregation and oppression" (p. 50). The construction of the New Economics Building proceeded, but the Rustenburg Memorialisation Project was initiated to memorialise the people buried in the graveyard.

When Rhodes bought the Estate in 1893, he proceeded to purchase and accumulate much of the surrounding land to expand the Estate, such as the neighbouring Welgelegen Estate (which now encompasses some of Middle Campus and Woolsack Drive, a common parking spot for students) (de Smidt, 1957). The portion of the Groote Schuur Estate given for the construction of UCT's Groote Schuur campus is described by Walker (1929) as follows:

> A site was speedily surveyed some little distance behind and out of sight of the Groote Schuur homestead, in the paddocks between the Zoo … and the woods that sweep up to the Rhodes Memorial. It was the best and most level site available on the mountain slopes for the erection of the fully-equipped modern university envisioned by the donors

Both Rhodes Memorial and the Groote Schuur Zoo (not to be confused with the zoological gardens on Hiddingh Campus) still border the main campus today and are used by students in various ways. Rhodes Memorial[31] is a large stone monument erected in 1912 (see Figure 23 below) and designed by Baker to honour Rhodes on the slopes of Table Mountain above the

[31] In July 2020 Rhodes' statue at this memorial was 'beheaded', but the head was found and re-attached in September 2020 by the group, 'Friends of Rhodes Memorial'.

campus (Knudsen & Andersen, 2019; Maylam, 2002). Maylam (2002) remarks on the Memorial:

> Rhodes would have been delighted with the Memorial. It would surely have satisfied his yearning for immortality. Its prominent site and high visibility gives Rhodes an enormous, looming presence over Cape Town. It is a thoroughly imperial monument, embodying a conjunction of architecture and empire-building (p. 144).

Figure 23: *Beheaded statue of Rhodes at Rhodes Memorial, photo by Shaun Swingler*

The Memorial's parking lot is frequently used today as spill-over parking by students who do not find parking on campus. The Memorial and the UCT Rhodes statue (previously on the UCT campus, see Figure 14 above) grew out of the cult of personality Rhodes actively engendered in his life, which was carried on by his associates after his death. As Maylam

(2002) asserts: “It is quite remarkable how Rhodes’ name has lived on in the hundred years since his death. He achieved a quite extraordinary immortality … it seems quite likely that Rhodes carefully planned and choreographed his own immortalisation” (p. 139). Arguably, this cult of personality has persisted well into the 21st century, long after the dawn of democracy in South Africa. Baillie et al. (2019) propose that:

> Up until the #RMF student protests, when the Rhodes statue was physically removed, Cecil John Rhodes had been (and arguably still is) institutionally regarded less as a racist imperialist and more as a magnanimous philanthropist, his name being synonymous with prestige and academic excellence as embodied by the Mandela-Rhodes scholarship[32] (p. 134).

The Groote Schuur Zoo was commissioned by Rhodes in 1897 and eventually closed in 1975 (MacMillan, 2014). The design and layout of the Zoo were planned to directly reflect Rhodes’ imperial ideas of power and domination (see Gibson, 2006 for a detailed discussion of the spatial meanings of the Groote Schuur Zoo). The proximity of Rhodes’ Zoo to the campus, as well as the zoological gardens on which the present-day Hiddingh Campus was built, prompted Walker (1929) to remark: “a Zoo seems always to have had an uncanny attraction for the College” (p. 96). The use of space to categorise, imprison and cage runs through the layers of the University’s spatial palimpsest. Today some remnants of the old Zoo structures remain. In the active archive of University space, the Zoo’s historical meaning grinds up against the experiences of the students who sometimes use this space today. As one participant reflected in a roving interview:

> ***Alex****: His [Rhodes’] zoo even, what he used to do was that at the bottom there would be the lesser beasts and right at the top he would put the monkeys and then the lion.*

[32] The Mandela-Rhodes Scholarship is the contemporary iteration of the Rhodes Scholarships to Oxford University from the funds bequeathed by Rhodes in his will, as discussed above.

And then the lion was the national symbol of the British Empire but it was an African animal, there are no lions in England. It was taken as a symbol … But when I think about the Zoo now, the way that it's constituted in most people's memories is as the place to go and get high where you wouldn't get spotted, right? [laughs]

***Josie**: [laughs] And then go to the dam*

***Alex**: Exactly, right? And I wonder to some extent what Mr Cecil John Rhodes would feel about that.*

***Josie**: [laughs] That's true. Probably not chuffed*

***Alex**: [laughs] I mean, not chuffed. Perhaps he would also be not chuffed that the people coming to the school aren't white or male, right?*

4.3.1.4 The design and construction of the Groote Schuur Campus. The construction of the Groote Schuur Campus took place between 1916 and 1929 (Phillips, 1993). In line with a stipulation in Rhodes' will, the building style was to be kept consistent with that of the Groote Schuur Estate (Phillips, 1993, 2019). Herbert Baker, who had designed several buildings on this Estate, was thus the first choice of architect. However, Baker was unavailable, and so a young South African architect, J. M. Solomon, who had worked in Baker's offices, was chosen instead. Given his relative inexperience, Solomon was sent by the Committee that oversaw the development of the Groote Schuur Campus on a tour of European and North American universities for inspiration and education (Phillips, 1993; Walker, 1929). Walker (1929) reflects:

> The Committee felt instinctively that the God-given site at Groote Schuur called for an artist; so they appointed Solomon and sent him the round of the universities of Great Britain, Western Europe and North America in search of ideas and information (p. 97).

The design of the campus was thus intentionally tied to a particular type of white, masculine identity. The idea was not to build a university informed by African aesthetic tradition but rather, an explicitly European one that drew on specific European traditions of educational space organisation and design. Walker's description here of the land as 'God-given' (rather than the more accurate description of 'Rhodes-stolen') reflects again the colonial and imperialist understandings of space at the time. Furthermore, the so-called divine provenance of the campus, as well as the assertion that the site required an 'artist', are arguably early iterations of contemporary discourses of UCT's elite status.

Solomon (1919) remarked that he was sent on this tour with "a view to incorporating whatever was best in the new buildings at Groote Schuur" (p. 14). Some of this "incorporating" can be seen, for example, in the Smuts Hall and Fuller Hall residences whose central quadrangles are based on the design of the Colleges at Oxford University, which the Committee insisted upon (Phillips, 1993). Solomon (1919) reflects on his choice of design for the residence halls:

> It is difficult to realise how many centuries and vicissitudes contribute to the formation of type in college residence, but, since at Magdalen, Oxford, in 1475, the cloistered quadrangle for the first time appeared, tradition has decided that it shall serve as the symbol in planning buildings where the student is to dwell. The University of Cape Town accepts this tradition, and the residences have been planned on the cloistered court or quadrangle system (p. 14).

This same cloistered quadrangle design is found in many local, wealthy former Model-C[33] and private Cape Town high schools attended by some of the students in this study, including the South African College School, and my own *alma mater*, Rustenburg. This coherence in

[33] During apartheid, Model C schools were historically white-only state-funded schools. Today they are no longer white-only schools, but they continue to be largely better resourced than the historically black-only and coloured-only schools and are typically located in middle-class, affluent areas.

educational architecture breeds a spatial familiarity in certain students' experience of educational spaces (something I will examine in more detail in the analysis chapters to follow).

Solomon (1919) also asserted that the university buildings, while incorporating these elements of European and North American design, should harmonise with the South African landscape:

> The architectural form should be adopted to the climatic needs of the country, the configuration of the site and the preservation of its natural beauties. An endeavour will be made that the architectural composition of the new University shall harmonise with, and even enhance, the beauty of its magnificent site, and that its simple lines and great scale will hold its sovereignty in the grandeur of its surroundings. In the detail of the buildings will be imprisoned features reminiscent of the traditional work of the early Cape settlers (p. 15).

For Solomon, this attention to the particularities of location and landscape meant drawing inspiration from the early colonial architecture – what is now termed Cape Dutch or Cape Vernacular architecture – rather than any consideration of indigenous architectural knowledges or other 'non-European' styles of architecture. However, as the current Properties and Services landscape architect pointed out to me in an interview, many of the craftsmen and builders who actually constructed the original Cape Dutch buildings, were from Malaysia and India, and brought their own particular influence to this style. University buildings were constructed through the labour of black workers, without whom the physical campus would not exist, and whose contributions were not noted but form an invisible part of the layers of physical space (Phillips, 1993). A central focus of Solomon's (1919) design vision was the beauty of the chosen site:

> The new university which architecturally is to come into being at Groote Schuur has natural advantages in the beauty of its site, unsurpassed by any similar institution in the world. Nature conspires, in the grandeur for the site chosen for its habitation, to do her utmost that the environment shall inspire the highest ideals of beauty and provide amenities worthy of a great Alma Mater (p. 13).

This discourse of the unmatched beauty of UCT's main campus is an enduring one, and ties into the broader discourse of the 'elite' university. The campus often features in contemporary lists of the world's 'most beautiful universities', a fact which is actively promoted by the university's leadership (e.g. "UCT gets the nod as 3rd most beautiful university", UCT, 2012).

In addition to the natural beauty of the site, Solomon sought to communicate a sense of grandeur and superiority in his design. A key aspect of this process is how the University is viewed from afar. Due to its location on the mountain slopes, the Upper Campus can be seen from great distances across Cape Town (Gibson, 2006). To achieve his aims, Solomon consciously drew inspiration from Ancient Greek architecture, refracted through and interpreted by elite North American universities. Solomon (1919) remarks:

> The Greeks, at the height of their artistic development, had a wonderful eye for impressive effects from a distance … The extent to which modern planning is indebted to such builders as Trajan and Hadrian is incalculable … The ancient University of Genoa owes its architectural effect to its sloping site, and in modern instances the Americans have chosen similar sites … Of these none is comparable in majesty or grandeur of the mountain site of the new university at Groote Schuur. For its background it has the horn of that great crescent formed by the Lion's Head, Table Mountain and Devil's Peak. It rears its great granite heights for more than 3000 feet above the plain, and from the terraces of the future buildings, will be seen both the

> Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Forty miles distant, over the Flats … Beyond these stretches, the Hinterland of the sub-continent, whose purpose the University is to serve (p. 13)

Gibson (2006) suggests that this relates to colonial discourses of building at higher altitudes to communicate superiority. This effect of the "sloping site" on the current students at UCT is profound, and the sense of looking up, moving towards the pinnacle of Upper Campus is a common feature of many students' daily treks up to Upper Campus. This is indicative, as Rose (1993) asserts, of how the colonial construction of the "rational masculine identity" involves rule over space (p. 148). Solomon's design for the Groote Schuur Campus focused on "remaking the shape of the land" into a distinct pattern of the ascending terraces for sports fields, residences and academic buildings described above, joined by multiple flights of, for many, inaccessible stone steps (Elliot, 1979, p. 43). This arrangement of terraces and flights of steps is reflective of a hierarchical ordering of campus space, with academia and graduation seen as the highest ideal (UCT's Properties and Services Landscape Architect, personal communication). As Dolmage (2017) suggests, universities rely on steep steps, "not just as architectural details but as symbolic social centrepieces of university life … in reality, and in the public imagination, higher education is about steep steps" (p. 46). Universities' steep steps are both symbolic and material reflections of the implicit exclusion within higher education institutions (see Dolmage, 2017).

The Sarah Baartman Hall is the focal point of Upper Campus (Solomon, 1919), the "crescendo of the design" (UCT's Properties and Services Landscape Architect, personal communication). Friends of Jameson donated £100 000 towards this assembly hall to be "the crowning glory of the layout" (Walker, 1929, p. 100). The Memorial Hall is reminiscent of the Rotunda at the University of Virginia, designed by Thomas Jefferson, except with an incomplete dome (Phillips, 1993). In Solomon's plan, it was intended to be a domed

assembly hall, seating 2 000 and containing the library, administrative offices and the Faculty of Arts (Solomon, 1919). However, the actual Hall is a pared back, dome-less incarnation of this design; as a previous Director of the Planning Unit reflected: "It is a shadow of Solomon's grand concept" (Elliot, 1979, p. 44).

In 1920, Solomon committed suicide, allegedly partly due to his frustration with the lack of progress with the development of the Groote Schuur Campus scheme (Phillips, 1993). A few months before this, Solomon had brought in a young architect, C. P. Walgate, who had also previously worked with Baker, to assist him. After Solomon's death, Walgate was tasked with designing the remaining buildings in keeping with the essence of Solomon's plans, assisted by two other Cape Town architects, W. Hawke and W. N. McKinlay (Phillips, 1993; Walker, 1929). These three architects instituted some cost-saving changes to Solomon's broader vision, such as aligning the terraces in a curved shape rather than a straight line so that they fit along the contours of the mountain's slope (Phillips, 1993). As the Properties and Services landscape architect explained to me, this means that University Avenue, which runs through the highest terrace, is curved. The endpoints on either side of the uppermost terrace are lower in elevation than the central point of the Plaza. Thus, whether the Sarah Baartman Hall and Plaza are approached from below or from the side, one is always approaching from a lowered elevation.

The Groote Schuur Campus was first occupied in 1929 as the University's centenary was celebrated. After the Second World War, the University purchased the Rosebank Showgrounds near Main Road for continued expansion of the campus into the surrounding suburb (Immelman, 1957)[34]. The section of land allotted to the University on Groote Schuur Estate was hailed as a kind of "Promised Land" within institutional discourses (Phillips,

[34] This expansion has continued throughout the years as the University has bought up more and more buildings in the surrounding suburbs, sometimes even indirectly, as private student residence companies buy up properties along Main Road to rent to UCT students. Throughout my 10 years at this institution, there has been a sense of the tentacles of the University increasingly snaking through the neighbouring suburbs.

1993). Walker (1929) remarks of the move into the newly built campus on this Estate: "The great majority passed over into the Promised Land on the mountain slopes to possess it, flooding the two great Residences and the vast tuitional blocks and laboratories behind them" (p. 124). This language of conquering and possession directly reflects the dominant understandings of space at that time (Massey, 2005). When the buildings and campuses that make up the University were taken possession of or built in the 19th and 20th centuries, space was considered a resource to accumulate, map, and label, as a surface to cross and conquer (Massey, 2005; Valentine, 2001). As Massey (2005) reflects:

> So easily this way of imagining space can lead us to conceive of other places, peoples, cultures simply as phenomena 'on' this surface. It is not an innocent manoeuvre, for by this means they are deprived of histories. Immobilised … they lie there, on space, in place, without their own trajectories. (p. 4)

Solomon (1919) suggested that the underlying aim of his design was that the buildings and grounds were to form "one harmonious whole" so that "all buildings that may be needed shall conform, there will be no necessity that the architectural composition of the scheme will have to be changed in the future history of the University" (p. 13). In 1978, the then Director of the Planning Unit remarked on the resilience of Solomon's design vision:

> The original design of the upper campus has been strong enough to accommodate the post-war developments to the extent that JM Solomon's concept still reads quite clearly, in spite of damage that has been done by largely unplanned growth on the upper terrace (Elliot, 1979, p. 43).

It is certainly true even now, some 100 years later, that the view of the Groote Schuur Campus, as seen from across Cape Town, retains this "one harmonious whole" and still communicates much of what was intended in Solomon's original design. However, most of the buildings designed and constructed after the original twelve (those lining the University

Avenue thoroughfare) have veered from the neoclassical style stipulated in Rhodes' will (Phillips, 2019). Phillips (2019) refers to the "second UCT" that was built between 1948 and 1968 – more or less in a ring – around the buildings of the original design. The nineteen buildings that make up this 'second UCT' were designed by a diverse range of architects, but broadly fell within Modernist architectural design. Phillips (2019) suggests that "the fruits of this Modernist style at UCT were increasingly stripped-down, relatively unadorned blocks which ranged from the sleek to the Brutalist" (p. 26). This first and second UCT make up the core of the Groote Schuur Campus, but there have also been many other buildings constructed over the long history of the campus, in more contemporary styles. These buildings (now encompassing perhaps a third, fourth and even fifth UCT) include, for example, the recently completed New Lecture Theatre (NLT) at the end of University Avenue and the New Engineering Building situated on the outermost ring of buildings up the slope toward the mountain. It was interesting that, while many participants appreciated the earlier neoclassical architecture, most participants liked best and felt more comfortable in the more recently constructed buildings (the NLT in particular).

4.3.2 Contemporary Design, Organisation and Adaptation of UCT Space

Education buildings are both the settings of educational policy and active in the enactment of such policies. Campus architecture can thus be considered the operationalisation of educational policy in "built form" (Wood, 2020, p. 465). However, buildings, such as many of those at UCT, have a long life-span and involve many different actors since their original design (Wood, 2020). This final section of the chapter will provide a brief background on the contemporary design, management, construction and adaptation of campus space at UCT, and examine some recent transformations of the organisation and configuration of campus space. Under the current "Place & Space" section of the

Transformation overview on the UCT website, the university avers the following: "UCT aims to build an inclusive campus through artworks, symbols, the use of language, and the names of buildings and facilities; and to remain Africa's finest institution of learning and research" (UCT, 2020b, para. 1). It is always interesting to note – as with the second part of this sentence – that in UCT communication around transformation, suggestion of campus reform is frequently followed by a promise to maintain the institution's standards. This is indicative of how institutional transformation and change have come to be linked to an idea of 'dropping standards' in broader public discourse.

The Properties and Services Department is responsible for UCT's various properties across the four campuses. Specifically, the Department oversees the management of new building projects; the redesign and maintenance of existing buildings; access control and security; transport and traffic control; cleaning and gardening; and postal services. Within this Department, the Physical Planning Unit focuses on the management of space, particularly allocation, design and planning (UCT, 2020c). The Physical Planning Unit employs physical planning architects, architectural technicians and landscape architects.

When a faculty has a particular spatial need, they first approach the Space Allocation Committee. The student body is represented on the Space Allocation Committee through the SRC, although the Physical Planning Unit architect I interviewed indicated that SRC attendance at these meetings has been a "little up and down" with changes in the SRC over the last few years. The SRC representative will table students' concerns around the proposed refurbishment or design. Following consultation with the Space Allocation Committee, a faculty-specific user group will then meet with the Physical Planning Unit. The Physical Planning architect told me that for smaller projects, they typically just meet with the Faculty Dean or Head of Department, and provide them with a sketch plan which they sign off. Larger projects, particularly those that go beyond the refurbishment of existing space, cross

multiple areas and will generate construction noise, require more rigorous and in-depth consultation. This involves more thorough engagement with user groups, with a roundtable meeting once a month for the duration of the project. There is also an Implementation Committee formed to govern finances. Students are generally represented on these user groups, but as the architect explained, not always central to the process if it is a staff or faculty space. Additionally, for projects that go beyond the refurbishment of existing space, the Physical Planning Unit has to work within the space standards outlined by the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET).

4.3.3 Changing Spaces at UCT: Policy Level Transformations

The colonialism embedded within the University's spatial palimpsest – as outlined in this chapter – is felt by many students and staff members who use the many places and spaces of this institution today, with inevitable repercussions for how students and staff experience the University. As a staff member I interviewed remarked:

> *The materiality of it is very much linked to how you learn and how you experience the learning process … and so I think that's very important, both as a student and as a staff member. It's something that really has a huge impact in terms of how you feel at home in a space that you occupy, and how you feel affirmed and how you feel valued as a person.*

Since the dismantling of apartheid and the introduction of institution-wide transformation policies, there have been various changes to the existing spatial arrangements across the University's campuses. From the interviews I conducted with staff members and policymakers, what was notable was the prominence and value these interviewees gave to the student protests in catalysing significant changes to various spatial arrangements and to material symbolism on campus. This contrasts somewhat with the often demonising public

discourses of the student protesters at UCT. In the next section, I will briefly outline some of these recent institutional policy-level changes to space at the University. This outline is by no means exhaustive and is merely to illustrate some of the ways that space has – or has not – been transformed at the policy level in recent years.

One institutional body responsible for changes to the management – in this case, the labelling – of space is the Naming of Buildings Committee (NOBC). The NOBC was first established to identify appropriate names for buildings and open spaces at the University. Part of the work of the NOBC is to bring these names in line with the University's transformation agenda; however, buildings may also be renamed for donor recognition or for neutral purposes (see UCT, 2020b). The NOBC is constituted of both staff and student representatives, which change every four years and every year, respectively. Typically, the NOBC will put out a call for proposals from the UCT community for the renaming of certain buildings and spaces (e.g. UCT, 2019c). While the NOBC has certainly been responsible for several name changes over the years, for example, between 2008 and 2019, 33 buildings or spaces were renamed (see NOBC, 2019), it would appear that the student protests of 2015 provided the impetus for a renewed focus on renaming. The NOBC member I interviewed suggested that before the protests, certain names were "untouchable", and certainly donor interests were at times prioritised over transformation agendas. The 2015 SRC, for example, put forward the recommendation that the NOBC's terms of reference be re-examined. The NOBC member I interviewed explained that since 2015 the Committee has taken "more proactive approach", which she directly connected to the student protests and associated advocacy:

> *I've seen things change so much in twenty-five years … But I mean at the same time there are lots of things that feel like they've stayed the same. So, like the things that stay the same have been the physical, the buildings … it feels like a few little tokens*

> *here and there until 2015 … I didn't really think it would change much. So, 2015 was really a huge eye-opener for everyone … You realise, oh my word, this is so huge! This is momentous! For myself personally, it was comparable to voting for the first time in 1994. It's very awe-inspiring.*

In the wake of the student protests, in 2015 as part of her role as the Special Advisor to the Vice-Chancellor on Transformation, Professor Ramugondo established a Task Team on the Naming of Buildings, Rooms, Spaces and Roads. Whereas the NOBC is a longstanding, permanent committee, the Task Team was an ad hoc, temporary institutional structure, running parallel to the NOBC and aimed at addressing the pressing issues of transformation raised by students and staff during the protests. The Task Team was requested to conduct an audit of the names of buildings, rooms, spaces and roads that may be seen to recognise or celebrate colonial oppressors (see Mulaudzi, 2016). Part of this renewed energy and focus on campus names is reflected in the re-naming of the main hall in 2019. During the process of conducting this research, the main hall moved through three names: from 'Jameson Memorial Hall', to the placeholder of 'Memorial Hall', and now finally, the 'Sarah Baartman Hall'. The NOBC put out a call to the University community for suggestions for new names for the Hall.. The new name 'Sarah Baartman' was proposed by the black feminist group within the Black Academic Caucus,[35] who in their submission to the NOBC, highlighted the invisibility of black women in the material symbolism of the university:

> As a victim of colonial science and exploits, Sarah Baartman is a good counterposition to the mercenary and perpetrator of colonial crimes, Jameson. As an institution that prides itself for leading research, the University of Cape Town must pave the way for the kind of research that confronts the consequences of colonial science. To do this, it must resuscitate Baartman's name from the muffling and

[35] The BAC is a collective of black academics at UCT focused on higher education transformation.

> suffocating narratives of disgrace to recognize the human strength and dignity that she represents. Older names of buildings on UCT campuses are those of men who were involved in colonial exploits. New names have also often become those of men … it has tended to shadow the crucial role that women played and has created a gendered landscape in which women, black women are invisibilised (BAC, 2017, p. 2).

This choice of name emerges in part from the debate and feminist activism around the statue of Sarah Baartman that used to stand in the Main Library. Groups of students and staff covered the naked statue in fabric as a symbolic gesture of restoring dignity, and then once the statue was uncovered by library staff, students and staff again re-robed the statue (Kessi, 2019). Prof Ramugondo, who was part of the BAC group that proposed this name, reflected:

> *The sculpture in the library of Sarah Baartman at the time was such a sore point for students and many black academics, especially women. We just could not fathom why people could not see what we were seeing, to have the chains around her neck and ankles and not think that people walking there would have a visceral response. I could not figure it out … Why should I be reminded of the subjugation of people who look like me when I walk through the library? Why would you think that is a good idea? ... So, when the students clothed the sculpture, it just made so much sense to many of us. But then I was thinking, how else to give Sarah her dignity back than to name a building [after her] where students graduate and sit at the stairs as if they are being held on her bosom?*

In addition to the work of the NOBC, the Disability Unit has been responsible for implementing several changes and adaptations to the spatial arrangement of campus to increase accessibility. The Unit was established over 20 years ago, initially to assist blind students who required text conversion, braille and tape recording. For much of this time, it has been a reasonably small unit; in 2008, for example, it had only four staff members.

However, in recent years it has grown substantially in size, scope and influence, and has been incorporated into the recently formed Office for Inclusivity and Change (OIC). It is generally perceived to be active, well run and responsive to students' needs (see Dalton et al., 2019); for example, one of the participants who is a wheelchair user, described the Unit as supportive and helpful. It is notable, however, that the increasing success of the Unit is not born necessarily out of institutional level policy or directives. It appears, at least from the interviews with the Disability Unit staff member, to emerge largely out of the lobbying and engagement of individual staff members and student activists. For example, for all new buildings that are built, Properties and Services seeks the input and recommendations of the Disability Unit, and the designs must be signed off by the Unit. This was, according to the Disability Unit Staff member, not always the case:

> ***Disability Unit Staff Member:*** *That took a while, that took a lot of tenacity from my side, it took a lot of, um, boldness, making people aware.*
>
> ***Josie:*** *How did you do it?*
>
> ***Disability Unit Staff Member:*** *Sat at their offices [Properties and Services], sat with my booklet, gave them the SANS code. Bombarded them constantly, never let go. The one good thing that happened was in 2014 the University was audited to see if the buildings, if the University space, was compliant in terms of inclusivity for universal design. And through that lots of eyes opened.*

The staff member gave another example of bumping into the then Vice-Chancellor on campus and having an on-the-spot conversation with him in which he agreed to provide several laptops that the Unit needed for students to write exams. Notwithstanding the energy and advocacy of the Unit, and the more recent consultative and accessible design of contemporary buildings, the dominant approach to the accommodation of disability at UCT has at times echoed, Dolmage's (2017) findings that universities typically react to the needs

of students with disabilities rather than plan for them. Dolmage asserts that "disability has become the Whack-a-Mole of higher education. When disability pops up, we slap it with a quick accommodation, and we just hope it doesn't pop up again" (p. 91). This reliance on retrofitted accommodations requires no lasting change to institutional culture or pedagogy. When Upper Campus was designed in the 1920s, students with disabilities were explicitly excluded by the tiered campus design and reliance on steps; that it took some 100 years and an audit of the institution for 'eyes to open' is indicative of how deeply this ableism was entrenched within the institution. In addition, the staff member also highlighted the role that the student protests played in catalysing and some of the growth and influence of the Unit.

> ***Disability Unit Staff Member:*** *For me, from my personal as well as professional perspective, a lot had to do with the protests of 2015 … before then a lot of needs were recognised, but the fact that the protest happened causes the University to see things in a different perspective, and through that, a lot of advocacy was done for students with disabilities. So, it's stuff that has been in the pipeline but it just unfolded.*

This shows the importance of student activism in changing stagnant and exclusionary spatial practices and the material status quo on campus, or expediting planned changes.

A third university body that has been pivotally involved in transforming aspects of the University space is the WOAC. The WOAC handles the acquisition and commissioning of new artwork, as well as the curation of existing artworks in UCT's collection which comprises over 2 000 pieces. Much like the NOBC, the WOAC is long-established but has recently been reconfigured somewhat in the wake of the student protests. As with the Task Team focused on naming, in response to concerns raised by students during the student protests as well as input from the BAC around the artwork on campus, the Special Advisor for Transformation to the Vice-Chancellor called for the establishment of the Artworks Task

Team (ATT). This Task Team was responsible for auditing the statues, plaques and artworks on campus that "may be seen to recognise or celebrate colonial oppressors and/or which may be offensive or controversial" (see UCT, 2016a). Looking specifically at plaques and statues, the Task Team's Audit Report found that of the 106 statues and plaques on campus, 68 celebrated white history and achievements, 12 celebrated black history and achievements, 9 celebrated science and nature, 8 celebrated world history and events, 4 celebrated both black and white history and achievements, and 5 statues and plaques were indeterminable. Gender representation was similarly skewed, with 41 statues or plaques representing men's history and achievement specifically and 10 honouring women (ATT, 2017).

Beyond the audit, according to the Task Team member interviewed, the ATT was also tasked with examining how students and staff experience campus space in relation to the artwork. The Task Team highlighted several curatorial issues, such as the presence of stigmatising representations of black people within some campus artwork (e.g. various works documenting poverty and naked black bodies), which has a cumulative effect on many students and staff who encountered the artworks daily, "exacerbated by an absence of artworks that would encourage black people to feel proud of who they are" (UCT, 2016b, para. 4). The Task Team concluded that "the architecture, situation, lighting, height, associations with historic university insignia, some of it saturated in colonial symbolism" on campus has not been sufficiently considered (UCT, 2016b, para. 4).

As the WOAC and Task Team member described in the interview, there was concern about the impact of stigmatising representations of blackness on students and staff:

> ***WOAC member:*** *So, what we found was that there was a cumulative effect of images that represented people in a certain way … I don't think people were really worried about who the artist is. It was more about that this is the representation I see every*

day, and by cumulative effect what was meant was that every time you see an image of a black person, it's poverty, it's hyper-sexualisation, it's uh, obscenity.

Professor Ramogundo, for example, recalled an instance when she was advisor to the Vice-Chancellor and an administrative staff member wrote to her describing the experience of sitting in her desk every day across from a piece of artwork depicting the dompas[36]. The WOAC member explained that consideration of the cumulative effect of campus artwork was inspired in part by a piece written by Ramabina Mahapa (2014). Ramabina Mahapa wrote this piece based on a conscientising experience he had of examining campus art. As he reflected:

In 2014 it all simply started one time I walked into the library. As I was walking out, there was a picture behind the security guard … the picture was this black man with horns. The person was black and was male, uh, but then when you looked down their legs were open and there was something akin to a red vagina. I got such a shock from seeing that. I mean I had been walking there for a number of years and my thinking was that that picture must have been there for longer, but I had never really recognised it. After I saw that I actually decided to take my camera and walk around campus and just simply take pictures of artwork. So, what I did was take pictures of anything that had any sort of human resemblance … What was shocking to me … There were two main themes that I had seen in the artworks in the University. The first was the nakedness of the black body. I found multiple artworks of black people that were naked. The second one was black people depicted as poor.

[36] During apartheid the pass laws were a form of internal passport system aimed at segregating the population. These laws constrained and limited the movements of black South Africans by requiring them to carry pass books when outside particular designated areas of the country. The 'dompas', translated literally to 'dumb pass', was the colloquial name given to these pass books.

The ATT also recommended changes to the terms of reference of the WOAC. Based on the ATT's recommendations and the issues highlighted by the students, all the artwork on campus was temporarily removed and then re-curated and displayed in 2019. A great deal of new artwork was also purchased. The WOAC member reflected that the re-curation focused on dignified representations. An important aspect of this re-curation was the inclusion of written blurbs to contextualise the artwork. This was important because, as the WOAC member explained, sometimes certain artworks on campus may have a particular representation which, without the necessary historical and social context, may be interpreted differently to how the artist intended it. As Kessi (2019) suggests, artworks should be understood "not merely as objects to be viewed but as historical traces of human life. These traces can sometimes represent centuries of untold trauma seemingly concealed behind a portrait or a sculpture that may seem inconsequential to many viewers" (p. 85). It appears – at least from the perspectives and experiences of the students in this study – that the re-curation has successfully mediated some of these concerns, specifically around the potentially marginalising effect of campus artwork. This differs substantially from the findings of some of my previous research with students in which campus artwork was often experienced as stigmatising by students (e.g. Cornell et al., 2016). The students that I interviewed for this study mostly enrolled after the re-curation and they responded positively to the current curation of campus artwork. As Chapter Six explores, it was other aspects of the material symbolism on campus that have not been re-curated or transformed that evoked affective experiences of alienation. There has, however, been some debate regarding the findings of the Task Team, and criticism that the new curatorial focus of the WOAC amounts to censorship (see Daniels, 2017; de Vos, 2019; Gon, 2018; Mulgrew & Mncwabe, 2018). In response, the WOAC member I interviewed explained that a university campus is unlike normal gallery space:

> *If you're curating in a gallery, often those exhibitions are time-based and you have a specific theme. Whereas here, it's not an enclosed space and you don't have a select niche audience … Here there are people of all walks of life who identify in different ways and it's lived space for them. Someone has to clean that wall every day, someone has to walk past every day, and someone has to read near there every day … So, it's a much more complex space to curate.*

She suggests that perhaps in future the socio-political context might be different and allow for different curation, but priority must be given to students' experiences and ensuring a welcoming environment for all on campus.

In conclusion, it appears that many of the recent significant changes to campus space are the result of the tenacity of groups of staff members and students, enabled or catalysed through the student protests. There are many material elements of campus that staff members and previous generations of students hoped would change, but sometimes forcing policy changes into gear requires widespread, organised, mass resistance. As one staff member reflected on her time as a student and career at UCT:

> *I mean even the Rhodes statue, twenty years ago it was unthinkable. We didn't like it when I was a student … People were always problematising, and writing about it and talking about it but it didn't feel like it was something you could do anything about.*

4.4 Chapter Summary

In sum, this chapter provided a detailed context to the setting of this institutional ethnographic case study, UCT. The chapter began with a summary of the hegemonic public discourses circulating about this University. An overview of the process of transformation at UCT was presented, examining student and academic staff demographic change and institutional culture. An outline of the spatial organisation of the current campuses was

provided, followed by an account of historical space at the institution and of the design and construction of the main campus. The chapter concluded with a discussion of the contemporary processes for the design, organisation and adaptation of UCT space, and documented some recent changes to campus space.

Chapter Five: Negotiating Campus Identity - The Multiple Trajectories of the 'Jammie Plaza' Sphere

This chapter examines the identity of University spaces and places, and how this identity is continually co-constructed and negotiated by the bodies, identities, objects and events in that space. Space is a sphere of "coexisting heterogeneity" encompassing simultaneous but distinctive and multiple trajectories of activity (Massey, 2005, p. 9). Specific places are nodes of such interrelations and are thus the "products of negation, conflict, competition, agreement, and so forth between different interests and positions" (Massey, 2009, pp. 23-24). The identity of a place is a product of these multiple interrelations and trajectories. UCT encompasses a broad swathe of diverse spaces across the city, and it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to explore the identity of the entire University campus. Arguably, a singular and coherent identity of UCT's spaces and places does not exist. Rather, the identities of UCT's many square kilometres of campus are multiple and ever-changing. I focus here on the identities produced for the Jameson Plaza area because of the centrality of this place in the data generated through this institutional ethnography, as well as the significance it is afforded in dominant public multimodal discourses. I use this particular place as a lens to view the processes through which students negotiate and construct the identities of campus place and space. In this chapter, I examine some of the simultaneous multiple trajectories of the Plaza as constructed in the data produced by the students, and the identities that are constituted for this place through the "sphere of a multiplicity of trajectories" (Massey, 2005, p. 119). In other words, this section offers a multimodal discourse analysis of the simultaneous trajectories in the sphere of the Jameson Plaza across the data set.

5.1 Why Jameson Plaza? The Prominence of the 'Jammie Plaza' in Dominant Multimodal Discourse

The Jameson Plaza has come to represent the University's spatial identity in the dominant multimodal discourse of the public and institutional imagination, despite encompassing a mere 0.0007km^2 of total campus space. It is considered "the epicentre of the upper campus" (Tredoux et al., 2005, p. 417) and is the visual and spatial symbol of the University. For example, images of the Jameson Plaza dominate the pages of Google searches for the "University of Cape Town" (see Figure 24); they feature prominently on the student email login page (see Figure 25); and are the focus of the cover of the Undergraduate Prospectus for 2020 (see Figure 26). At the Cape Town International Airport in the corridor for international arrivals that leads passengers from the plane to the baggage claim area, a large photograph of the Jameson Plaza is plastered on the wall. On Google Maps, the location pin marking the "University of Cape Town" is positioned in the centre of the Plaza (see Figure 27). The Sarah Baartman Hall on the Plaza is the venue for all graduation ceremonies, even for Faculties situated on other campuses. This Plaza space thus tends to be looming, always present in the background of thousands of celebratory graduation photographs each year. As I write this, stuck to the pinboard beside me is my own Master's graduation photograph in which the Plaza forms a blurry, but omnipresent background (see Figure 28).

A simple content analysis of the data accumulated through this institutional ethnography suggests that this Plaza is always present in students' experience of the campus. Of the 35 reflective maps produced, 28 depicted the Sarah Baartman Hall or the Jameson Plaza area and for most, this place was drawn in the centre of the map. The Jameson Plaza features in many of the photo-stories produced by participants. The roving interviews, almost without exception, seemed naturally to come to an end somewhere on the Plaza. This all

denotes the physical and symbolic importance of this place in students' construction and navigation of campus, as well as multimodal public discourses more broadly.

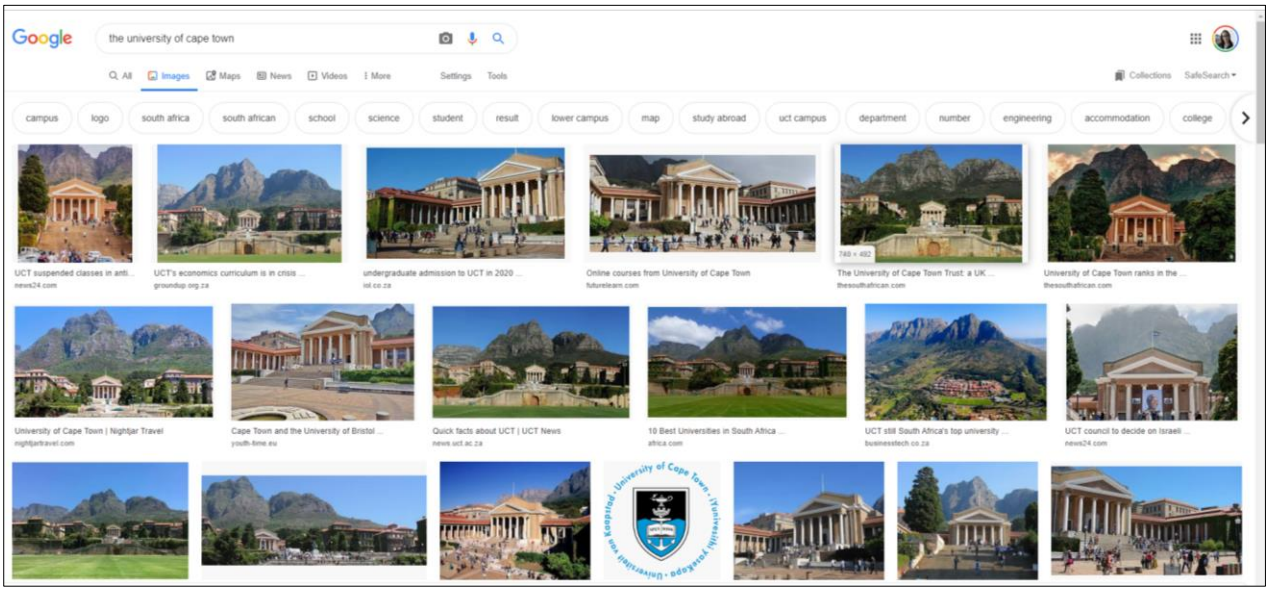

Figure 24: *Google image search results for "the University of Cape Town"*

Figure 25: *UCT student email login landing page*

Figure 26: *Cover of the UCT Undergraduate Prospectus for 2020*

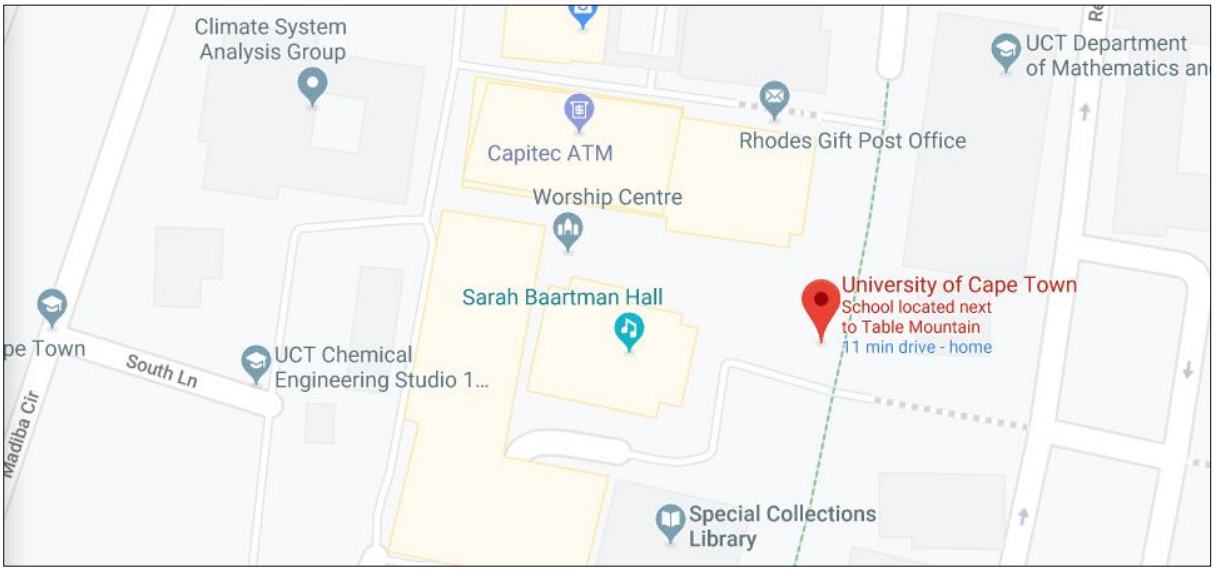

Figure 27*: UCT represented on Google Maps*

Figure 28: *Corner of my desk*

5.2 A Place of Conflicting Identities

Hewn into the side of Devil's Peak, on what was (and is) indigenous land appropriated by Dutch East India Company officials, various settler farmers, Rhodes and ultimately UCT, the Jameson Plaza (colloquially and most commonly known as 'the Jammie Plaza') encompasses an area of approximately 1300m^2 paved with bricks. Flights of stairs ('the Jammie Steps') lead down from the Plaza towards the Residence Terrace and lead up from the Plaza towards the recently renamed Sarah Baartman Memorial Hall. The Plaza space is approximately 20m across between these two flights of steps and is book-ended by two blocks of raised lawn. Horizontally this place is approximately 65m across. The Jammie Steps, the benches along the edge of the Plaza are made of Cape Granite. It is thought to be the same granite that was used to build Rhodes Memorial and most likely originates from the Higgovale quarry at the bottom of Table Mountain (Calata, 2015).

Places must be actively imagined and continually invented (Matus & Talburt, 2009). The formation of the identity of a place like the Jameson Plaza is thus a daily and ongoing dance of contestation and negotiation between the varied trajectories within the space, as well as the multimodal discourses that circulate about the area. There are always "ideological and political processes involved in the production and maintenance of places (and the people in them)" (Gray & Manning, 2014, p. 642). Attempts to "secure the identity of places" are "attempts to stabilize the meaning of particular envelopes of space-time" (p. 5). This is not to say that the Jameson Plaza's identities are necessarily always consciously and intentionally co-constructed, but the identity of this place is always a collective achievement formed through a range of daily practices and underpinned by broader ideological processes (Massey, 2005).

Sometimes the active contestation of the identity of the Plaza takes the form of observable and direct conflict. In the ten years that I have been a student on this campus, there have been several examples of this public and collective contestation. In 2010, for example, during the UCT Rainbow Society's[37] Pink Week campaign to promote LGBTIAQ+ rights and draw attention to countrywide homophobia, the Society had symbolically placed a pink closet in the middle of the Plaza. One night this closet was burnt down. In response, the Rainbow Society left the charred remains in the centre of the Plaza space, which they cordoned off with crime scene barrier tape and used symbolically as the centre of their Pink Protest (see Hoffmann, 2010; Jones, 2010; UCT, 2010b). This series of events represents public contestation over the identity of the Jameson Plaza as it relates to the sexuality of UCT students: an LGBTI-welcoming place or a place of discrimination and hostility. Today, the burn marks of this closet are still evident on the Plaza paving stones. A similar example of the active contestation of the Plaza identity takes place during the annual Israel Apartheid Week

[37]The society for LGBTIAQ+ students and their allies at UCT.

hosted by the UCT Palestinian Solidarity Forum (PSF). During this week, students from the PSF and students from the South African Union of Jewish Students typically set up rival information tents and installations on either side of the Plaza (see Baigrie & Minné, 2012; Benjamin, 2012).

The Plaza is frequently central to UCT student activism (see Figures 29, 30, 31, 32, & 33 below), and was the site of many sit-ins, mass protest meetings, vigils and various other events relating to student activism during the recent wave of RMF and FMF student protests, but also historically during student resistance activities under apartheid.

Figure 29*: "Free Palestine" across Plaza in front of Vodacom cellphone promotions tent, photo by Josie Cornell*

***Figure 30**: "Men we need to talk about consent" graffiti, photo by Shaun Swingler*

***Figure 31:** "Practice consent" graffiti, photo by Josie Cornell*

Figure 32: *FeesMustFall protest on Plaza, photo by Shaun Swingler*

Figure 33: *FeesMustFall protest on Plaza, photo by Shaun Swingler*

Perhaps one of the most recent and prominent fluctuations in the identity produced for the Jameson Plaza has been the renaming of the Plaza's centrepiece Hall from the "Jameson Memorial Hall" to the "Sarah Baartman Memorial Hall", with the placeholder "Memorial

Hall" used in the intervening months. As Guyot and Seethal (2007) suggest, a toponym – that is, a place name – "constitutes one of the vectors in the definition of the identity of the place" (p. 56). Place names are significantly implicated in the "sense of place" people construct and central to the process of linking places to identities. The change of toponym is often reflective of changes in society more broadly. For example, as Chapter Four discussed, the re-naming of the Jameson Memorial Hall was arguably sparked and enabled through the changing nature of student politics and activism at the University. However, place names may also be changed to bring about transformation in society (Guyot & Seethal, 2007). It remains to be seen what long-term transformations may be wrought upon students' experience of this space, and the institutional culture of the University more broadly, through this recent re-naming.

However, most often, the contestation of the identity of the space occurs more subtly, in the everyday practices, micro-politics and dynamics that occur between this place and the multitude of different bodies within it. The Jameson Plaza is particularly busy, perhaps more so than many other places on campus. On a typical day during the University term, it acts as a central thoroughfare for students moving vertically between Middle and Upper Campus, as well as across University Avenue. This is, of course, dependent on the time of day with busier crowds during the 15-minute interval between lectures, but the daily foot traffic and crowds are more common here than other parts of campus. Meridian (the one hour lunch period between 13:00 and 14:00) is a particularly busy time, when this space can at times be overwhelmingly loud.

Although most trajectories in the Jameson Plaza sphere are those of students, they co-mingle with the varied trajectories of lecturers, University management, administrative staff, security guards, ground staff, and cleaning staff; tourists taking in the view of the city; visiting high school students on campus tours; the children of staff members brought to

campus for the day; religious evangelists seeking to convert students; joggers who have run up the Jammie Steps to increase their altitude gains; parents and guests attending graduation ceremonies; Summer and Winter School attendees; musicians performing in concerts; protesters; and many more.

Perhaps of all the spaces on campus, the tension of public-private, institutional-corporate, and simply inside-outside, is most clearly encompassed in this place. Whereas many campus buildings are access-controlled to a greater or lesser degree, the Jameson Plaza is relatively open to the public and possible to access without a student or staff card. Furthermore, this space is open to corporatisation. On Thursdays, companies pay to hold promotional events here. This place is of great symbolic but equally strategic and financial importance for the institution, to the point that Ramabina Mahapa, the former SRC president I interviewed, described a proposal from the Development Alumni which was ultimately rejected, to sell space on each Jammie Step for sponsorship. Much can be learnt about the dynamics of privilege and exclusion at this institution from an examination of the myriad of conflicting identity discourses that students construct for this place, the University's symbolic epicentre. The following section offers such an analysis.

5.3 A Multimodal Discourse Analyses of the Identities of the Jameson Plaza

The multimodal discourse analysis that follows examines the identity discourses that are produced for the Jameson Plaza through the coexisting multiplicity of trajectories revealed throughout the data set. In particular, I examine the identity discourses produced for the Plaza as *a place of belonging and connection* and *a place of alienation and discomfort*, and how these identities are influenced by and connected to race, class and other intersecting identities.

5.3.1 A Place of Belonging and Connection

In addition to the movement of students and other people through the Jameson Plaza, many students gather in groups or sit individually on the granite benches that run along the edge of the Plaza, on the flights of the Jameson Steps, or on the assorted lawns on the perimeter of the Plaza. The Jameson Plaza acts as a central meeting place on campus for students to mingle with friends, eat their lunch, smoke between classes. Students documented their experiences of leisure and social connection within this place throughout the various modalities within the data set, particularly on the reflective maps (see Sarah's map, Figure 34; Kelly's map, Figure 35; and Chloe's map, Figure 36 below).

The Plaza fills up almost two thirds of Sarah's map (Figure 34). Sarah uses sections of text to represent the three distinct spatial trajectories she chose to document, which she visually anchors with asterisks and arrows. For her Plaza trajectory, she writes onto the Plaza space on the map, her text wrapping around her drawing of the Plaza Fountain:

> *I spend a lot of my time during breaks on Plaza sitting and chatting to friends. This is nearly always where I socialise unless it's raining. I also enjoy sitting here as you get the chance to observe the many diverse people who attend UCT.*
>
> (Text from Sarah's reflective map, Figure 34).

In Figure 35, Kelly plots a time-space path (see Rose, 1993) across campus, using a pink highlighter to indicate her path and numbers and arrows to indicate her various trajectories. The Plaza is not a numbered location in the time-space path, but features as a detour between point one on the time-space path (10:00 lectures in PD Hahn Chemistry Building) and point two (morning break between lectures in the New Lecture Theatre). Kelly gives the Sarah Baartman Hall its previous name and in representing her Jameson Plaza trajectory textually, she writes alongside her drawing of the Hall:

This is the central place on campus. I use it to meet friends sometimes because it is so central. The Jammie Steps are nice to meet up with friends unexpectedly.

(Text from Kelly's reflective map, Figure 35)

Unlike the cartographic layout of the other reflective maps, Chloe's (Figure 36) represents only her most common trajectories on campus, a representation of moments and the construction of a particular affect in time rather than a geographic layout of the campus. Her depiction of her Jameson Plaza spatial trajectory occupies the top half of the page, textually labelled 'social'. She draws the square of raised lawn situated on the side of the Plaza and visually represents her 'social time' with drawings of stick figurines engaging with speech bubbles.

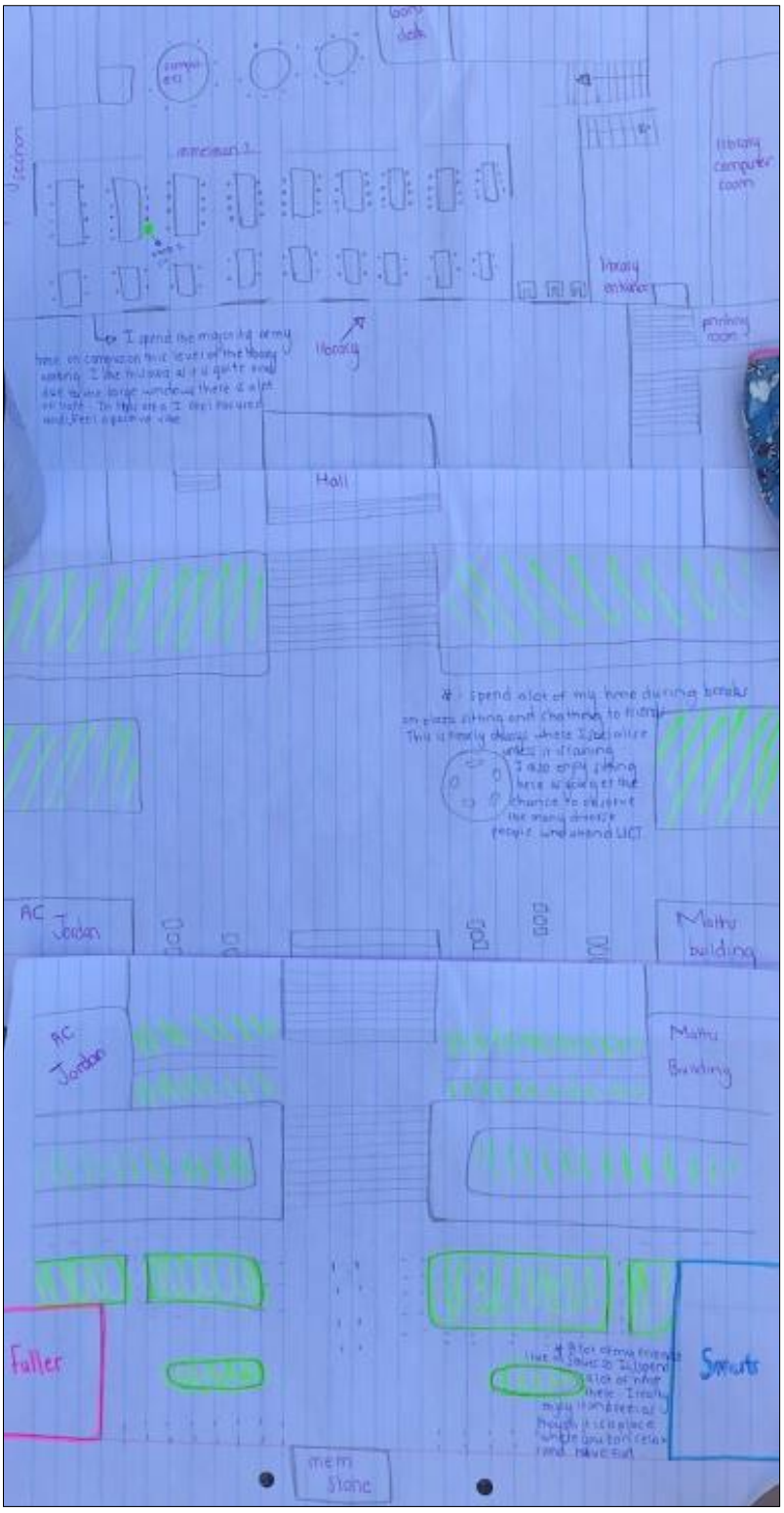

Figure 34: *Sarah's reflective map*

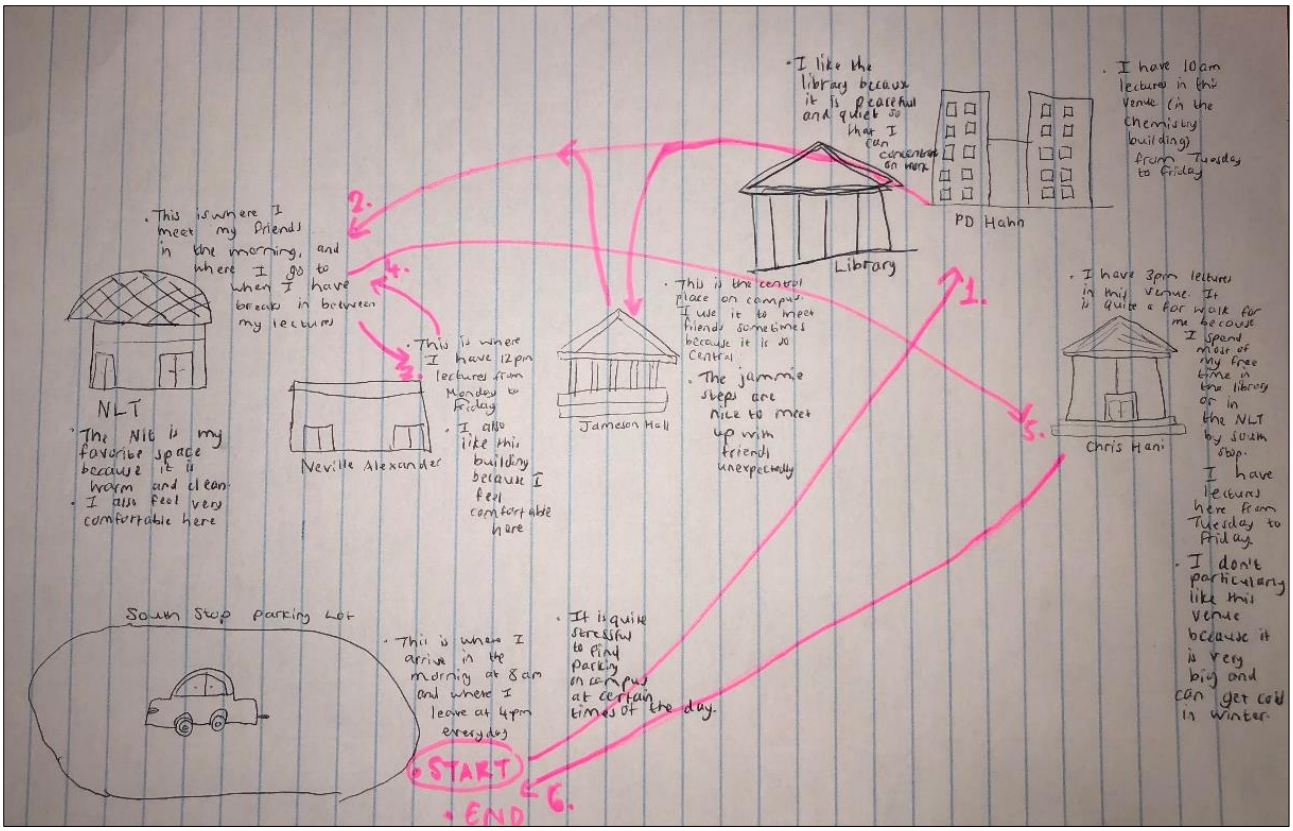

***Figure 35**: Kelly's reflective map*

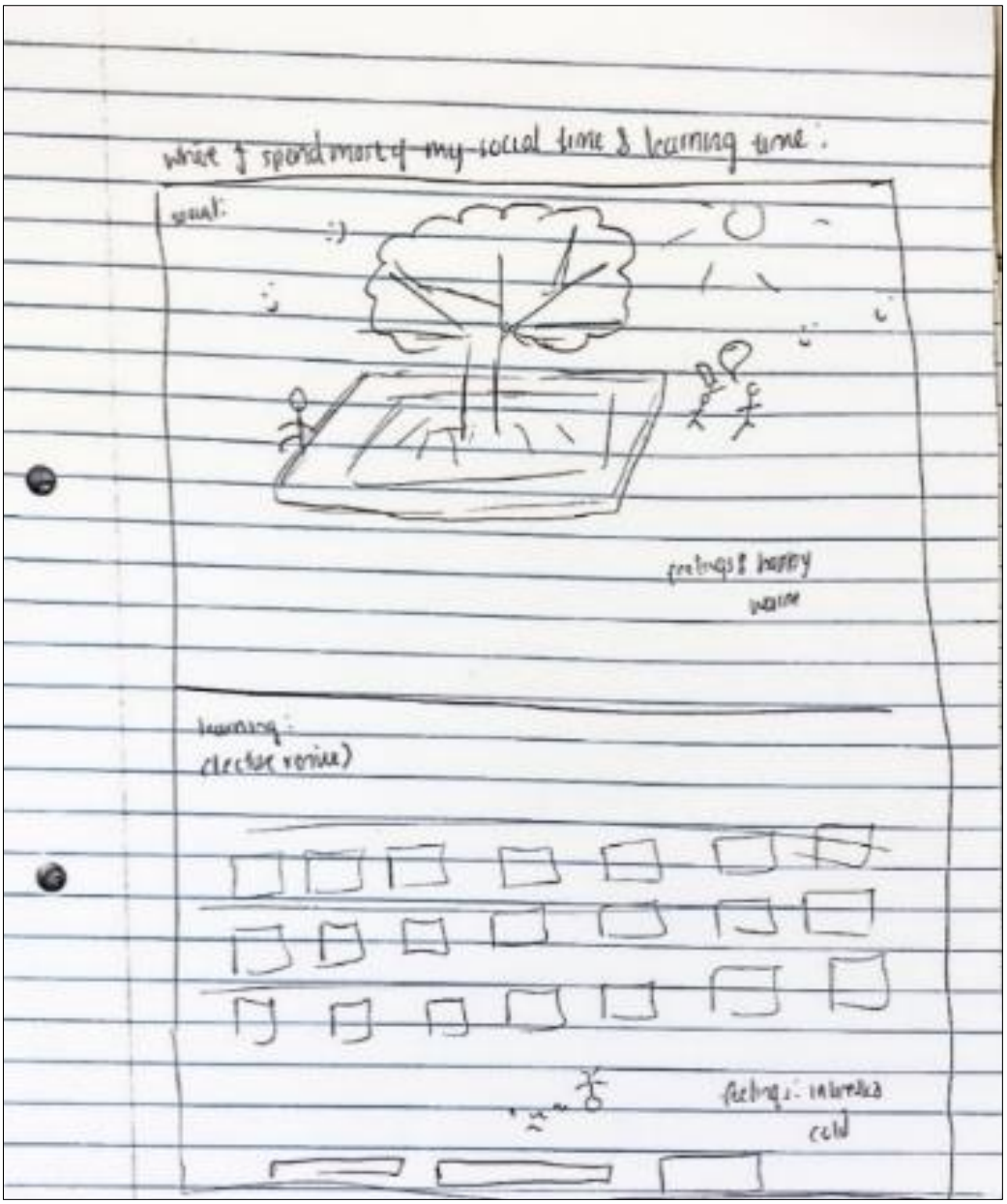

Figure 36: *Chloe's reflective map*

The trajectories of leisure and social connection evidenced in these reflective maps are linked to constructions of particular affective states within that space. Drawing on an understanding of affect here that views the sources of emotions as outside rather than *within* individuals, affect is engendered within "settings that choreograph trajectories for bodies and shape the nature of social encounters and exchanges" (Durrheim et al., 2013, p. 47). Affect is thus located in the interconnections between bodies and the "the materialities of space-time" (p.

47). Importantly, however, as Durrheim et al. (2013) assert, although not located within people, affect is ultimately connected to thought by people as they talk about their daily lives. This conceptualisation of affect is particularly important in the process of discourse analysis, the theoretical coordinates of which view meaning-making as a fluid, relational but embedded process. As Durrheim et al. (2013) suggest, "affect is inextricably linked to meaning-making because it is 'enfolded in action'." (p. 50). There are some small hints of students' affective experiences in the meaning-making of their reflective maps. In Chloe's map above (Figure 36), for example, she represents the affect she associates with the Jameson Plaza across the different modalities of her map: she textually writes the 'feelings' she associates with the Plaza space onto the map ("happy", "warm"), and emphasises this visually with smiley faces.

The particular trajectories students depict on these maps, and the affect they link to these trajectories, in turn produce a broader affective identity discourse for the Jameson Plaza, specifically as a place of belonging and connection. Perhaps more so than the reflective maps, the roving interviews were useful for elucidating this process.

Second-year students, James and Nick, in their roving interviews represent similar trajectories of social connection. They construct the Jammie Steps as a place where they routinely socialise with their friends:

> ***Josie****: Why did you choose Jammie Steps to begin with?*
>
> ***James****: I said to my friends, "Are you guys free?" and they said, "yes", and I said, "Where you hanging?" and they said, "By Jammie Steps", and I met them there, and ja [yes], we just kind of liked it and so it kind of fit. We just decided to keep meeting there.*
>
> ***Nick****: But I think – because I sit with him there – that usually in first-year, it's the first place you know, it's Jammie Steps! It's the easiest place that everyone knows … so*

it's kind of a common ground where people from different faculties could meet before you know the buildings.

***Josie**: And you just keep going back there?*

***James**: Basically, yes, it's tradition [laughs].*

(Extract 5.1: Roving interview)

Nick and James present their choice to spend time in the Plaza as based partly on convenience but also a sense of familiarity (*"it kind of fit…it's the easiest place that everyone knows"*). As students arriving on campus for the first time, although Nick and James might not necessarily be materially familiar with this place (that is, they may never have physically been *on* the Plaza before), they possess a tacit spatial knowledge of the Jameson Plaza based on the dominance of the Plaza in broader public discourse about the University. For James, Nick and their friends the affective experience constructed for the Plaza space here is that of connection (it "feels easy" and "fits"). Through the affect that they associate with this place in their group of friends, the act of meeting at this spot on the Jameson Steps becomes established as a recurrent feature of their student routines, a habitual day-to-day trajectory.

However, the identities the students construct for the Plaza are resilient despite changes in their routines. The identity of a place may be maintained even when the multiple trajectories informing it shift. The dominant identities that students construct for the Jameson Plaza are framed by their hegemonic quotidian trajectories and their most common time-space routines. When students who typically use the Plaza as a space of connection spend time there alone, the identity that they construct for the Plaza may still be one of belonging and connection. Both Rachel, a postgraduate student participant in one of the roving interviews, and Sarah in her reflective map above (Figure 34), construct the experience of sitting alone within the broader student body but watching the diverse crowd of students as a state of belonging. On her reflective map, Sarah writes: "I also enjoy sitting here as you get

the chance to observe the many diverse people who attend UCT". Rachel makes a similar comment in her roving interview:

> ***Rachel**: I used to love coming here [Jameson Plaza] early mornings sitting on the stairs there in the sun, watching students go by and watching the view … I know there are a lot of students who are having difficulties and things but when you see them together and they are chatting with their friends there is that kind of youthful excitement.*
>
> (Extract 5.2; roving interview)

For students such as Rachel and Sarah, being alone amongst the crowds on Plaza is not positioned as a state of alienation, but is still linked to a sense of connection. Even during the representation of solitary trajectories across these elements of the data, an identity of belonging for the Jameson Plaza is maintained.

Furthermore, this identity may be resilient over time. This identity of connection and belonging is still drawn on, for example, by some postgraduate students, despite changes to their trajectories on campus throughout their degrees. Rachel reflected further on this in the rest of her roving interview. Now completing her PhD, she has been a student at UCT for 10 years. Rachel is my friend, and as undergraduate students between 2009 and 2011, we would spend much time sitting on the raised lawn on the Plaza known then as "Arts Block" (named after the Arts Block Building it is located alongside). Now as postgraduate students, we mostly work from home, and if we are on campus at all, we are generally there alone. During the roving interview, we retraced the steps we used to take to this spot:

> ***Josie**: This is a walk we would have done a lot when we were younger [walking down University Avenue towards Jameson Plaza]*
>
> ***Rachel**: Oh, ja, ja [yes, yes], multiple times a day. I mean I've got very fond memories of, of, I mean it's no longer Arts Block [referring to the raised lawn*

alongside the former Arts Block Building] though, I mean it was in our day but it's got a different name now, which I can't actually remember which makes me feel very bad. That's also because I haven't been around, I haven't been referring to places with other people. I'm just going with my undergraduate map.

***Josie**: Ja, it's called, AC Jordan[38] [the former Arts Building]*

***Rachel**: Could be Jordan's Block [the block of lawn]?*

***Josie**: Okay so, let's sit-*

***Rachel**: Let's sit on Jordan's Block. I mean this was lunchtime.*

***Josie**: Okay, right so, we are sitting on, well what was called Arts Block, we don't know what it's called now. We're sitting where we used to sit for hours and hours. How do you feel?*

***Rachel**: [Sighs contentedly] Very good. This has always been a good space*

***Josie**: Why has it always been a good space?*

***Rachel**: Because it was a, a point of contact with your friends every day. No matter how bad the day was going generally if you got to see your friends it was a time to just let go and not worry as much.*

(Extract 5.3; roving interview)

For both of us our Jameson Plaza trajectories have changed. If our bodies occupy this space now it is to walk through en route to the library or to meet our supervisors. Spaces move with time, and this is, of course, inevitably and unavoidably a different space from when we used to spend time here 10 years ago. The name has changed, the student body is different, the grass of the lawn has mostly died due to the recent Cape Town drought (students can no longer spread out across the lawn but occupy the few green patches around the edges), and

[38] AC Jordan was a South African novelist, linguist and professor of African Languages and Literature at UCT amongst other institutions.

we have no friends to meet. Yet for both of us the dominant affective identity we still construct for this space is one of comfort, connection, belonging and ease. In our discussion in the extract above, as postgraduate students, Rachel and I construct our identity for the 2020 Jameson Plaza through, as Rachel says, our internal "undergraduate maps". The Plaza identity is diffracted through a lens of nostalgia, despite shifts in our trajectories away from leisure and socialising. Rachel's campus time-space routines have changed, but the identity she produces for the Plaza in this extract has not ("*this has always been a good space"*).

In addition to the maps that constructed an identity of belonging and connection for the Plaza through trajectories of leisure and socialising, there was one map that produced a Plaza identity rooted partially in connection and student solidarity but engendered through a different type of Plaza trajectory. The trajectories in Kate's map moved beyond day-to-day student trajectories to those of broader socio-political events:

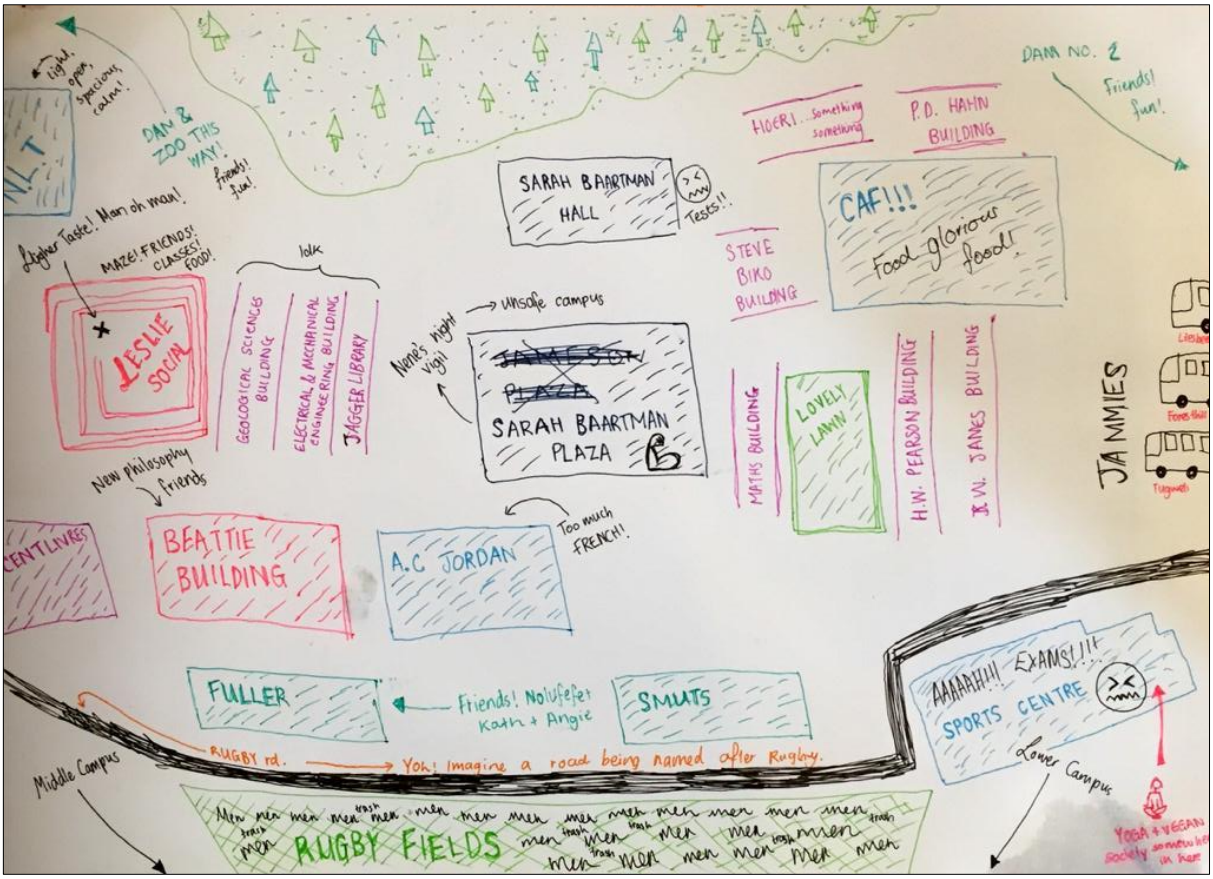

Figure 37*: Kate's reflective map*

In her map, Kate references the use of the Plaza by students and staff as a site of mass mourning and resistance. She links the Plaza space on her map to the candlelight vigil ("Nene's night vigil") held for first-year UCT student, Uyinene Mrwetyana, and the protest activities that occurred on Plaza around her death. In August 2019, Uyinene went to collect a parcel from a post office down the road from her residence and was raped and murdered in the post office by a post office worker. Her murder sparked a broader wave of protest against gender-based violence in South Africa (Lyster, 2019), and the University held a week of mourning and reflection with several memorial services, vigils and protest events taking place on the Plaza (Davids, 2019). Uyinene was not murdered on campus but there is a high incidence of gender-based violence on and around the University campus. Between December 2015 and April 2016, for example, a serial rapist, known as the Rhodes Memorial Rapist, attacked six UCT female students around campus and the surrounding areas, particularly at Rhodes Memorial (Petersen, 2016). The affect Kate links here to the Plaza (and ultimately the campus in its entirety) is a state of grief and danger and in particular a gendered danger. However, Kate overlays this state of affect with semiotic representations of strength and resistance. She draws a raised arm and clenched fist, a common symbol of resistance (see Davidson & Blair, 2018), and enacts her own renaming of the Plaza, scribbling across and crossing out the "Jameson Plaza" label on her map. It is noteworthy that Kate's act of obliteration of the Plaza name is included on the map. Kate could simply have written "Sarah Baartman Plaza", but she moves through the process of writing down the "Jameson Plaza" label and documenting its erasure. This counter-naming is a form of "toponym opposition", and one of the many ways the identities of places are contested (Guyot & Seethal, 2007, p. 56). The Jameson Plaza has not yet been renamed and, according to the NOBC member I spoke to, will most likely not be renamed the Sarah Baartman Plaza. Kate's reference to Sarah Baartman in her counter-naming here, with the arrow connection to

Uyinene's vigil in this space, invokes a palimpsest memorial to black South African women and the historical echoes of gender-based violence throughout South Africa's broader spatial archive.

5.3.2 A Place of Anxiety and Alienation.

The Jameson Plaza as a place of connection and belonging is one of the multiple identities that students construct for this place. There are manifold other, simultaneous but at times contradictory quotidian Jameson Plaza trajectories, which contest and undermine this particular Plaza identity discourse. Many other students do not use this space for meeting friends, eating lunch or relaxing between classes. For these activities, they deliberately seek out other places on campus (these other places will be explored in Chapter Seven). Their trajectories in the Plaza take the form of reluctant and hesitant movement through this space. The Plaza is an unavoidable thoroughfare they grudgingly pass through on the way to other destinations.

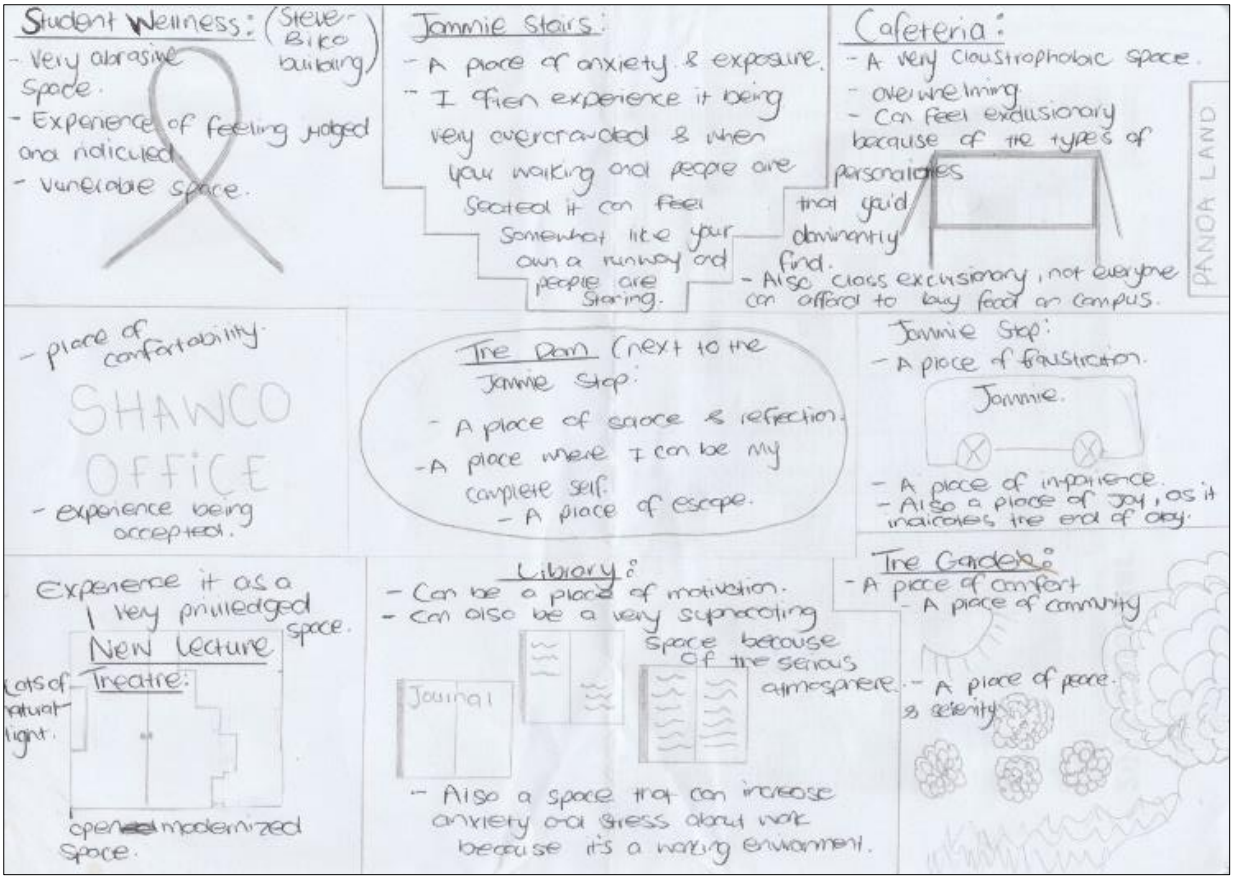

Figure 38: *Maria's reflective map*

Similarly to Chloe's map (Figure 36) above, Maria's map constitutes a mosaic of constructions of 'affect in place', rather than a cartographic representation of the University campus. Nonetheless, the section for "Jammie Steps" is placed in the top row, and the centre column, echoing where it is situated in the geographic layout of Upper Campus. The Jammie Steps are visually referenced through the stepped pencil border drawn around the block of "Jammie Steps" text. The density of the text in this section could be seen as a mimetic representation of the bustling overcrowding of the space that Maria describes[39]. In the content of this text, Maria produces what could be considered the inverse of the trajectory expressed by Rachel and Charlotte above: a trajectory of scrutiny and surveillance. Where Rachel and Charlotte describe the active trajectory of watching in this space, which they

[39]Although these other spaces are not a focus of the discussion here, it is interesting to note that this mimetic use of text is evident elsewhere on Maria's map, as with the cramped and claustrophobic cafeteria.

associate with an affective experience of connection within the student body, Maria elucidates the passive trajectory of being watched. The affective identity discourse thus produced for the Jameson Plaza – which she textually places at the top of the Plaza section of her map – is as "a place of anxiety and exposure".

Nombolelo's map draws similarly on affect in relation to judgment and scrutiny; however, the identity she constructs for the Plaza goes beyond the connection of the Plaza to mere discomfort.

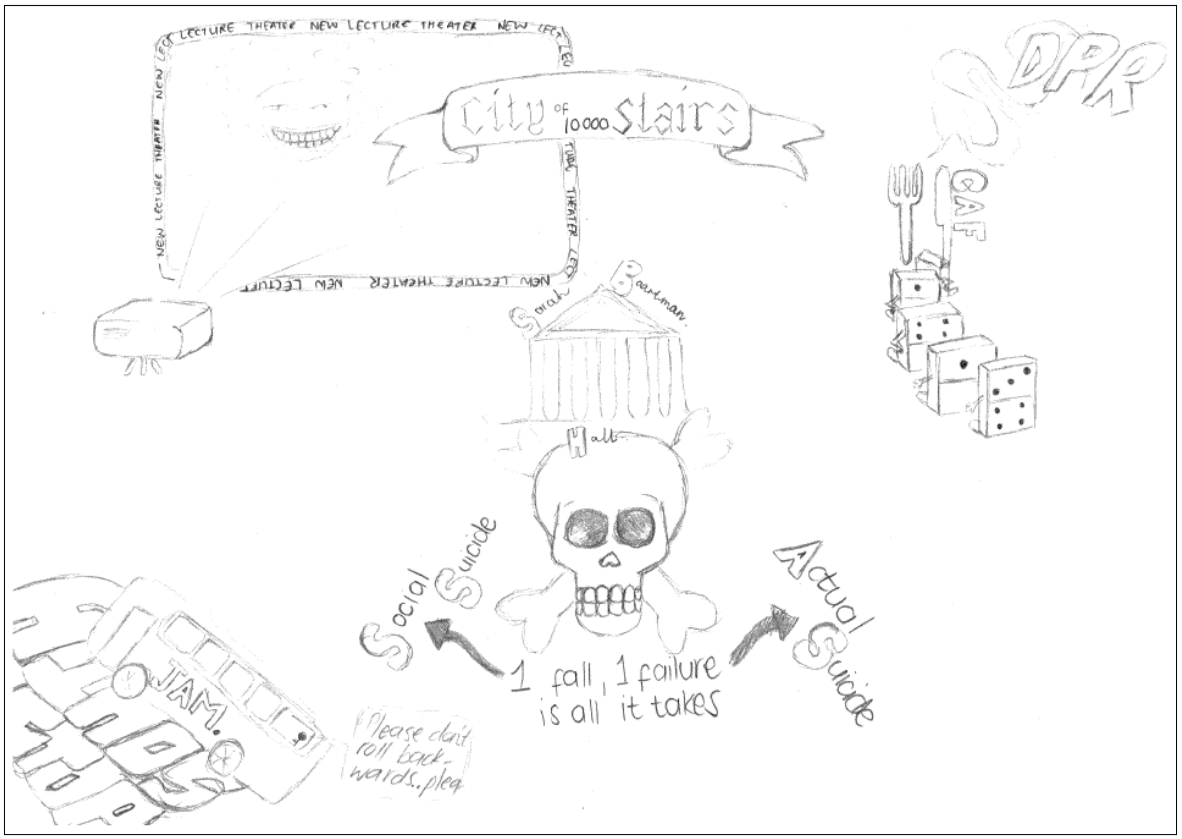

Figure 39: *Nombolelo's reflective map*

The identity for the Plaza on Nombolelo's map is produced on two overlapping levels. Firstly, this Plaza construction is based on daily student trajectories within and across the material space of the Plaza, but secondly – at the symbolic level – Nombolelo references students' progress through their time at University. The Plaza space on the map is filled by a

pencil drawing of a skull and crossbones, crowned by the Sarah Baartman Hall. Nombolelo makes no direct reference to this on her map, but her choice of skeletal imagery merging with the Hall (the word "Hall" is embedded within the pencil lines forming the top of the skull) arguably evokes the historical context of the violent exploitative display of Sarah Baartman's skeleton. This is an almost symmetrical illustration, with the twin text and arrows of "social suicide" and "actual suicide" mirrored across the Plaza skull. On the one hand, in Nombolelo's multimodal representation of the Plaza, she invokes a trajectory of 'being watched' with her text, "social suicide", linked by her pencil arrow to "1 fall" on the Plaza. Here she references the social pressure faced by students and the affective repercussions of social stigmatisation of a physical misstep within this place on campus. However, the pressure she depicts here is mirrored across her drawing to relate on a symbolic level to student failure during the course of the University degree and suicidal ideation among university students, which is an increasing concern in this country (Mabasa, 2018).

Trajectories of judgement, such as those represented on Nombolelo and Maria's maps, are similarly depicted in Nicole's reflective map:

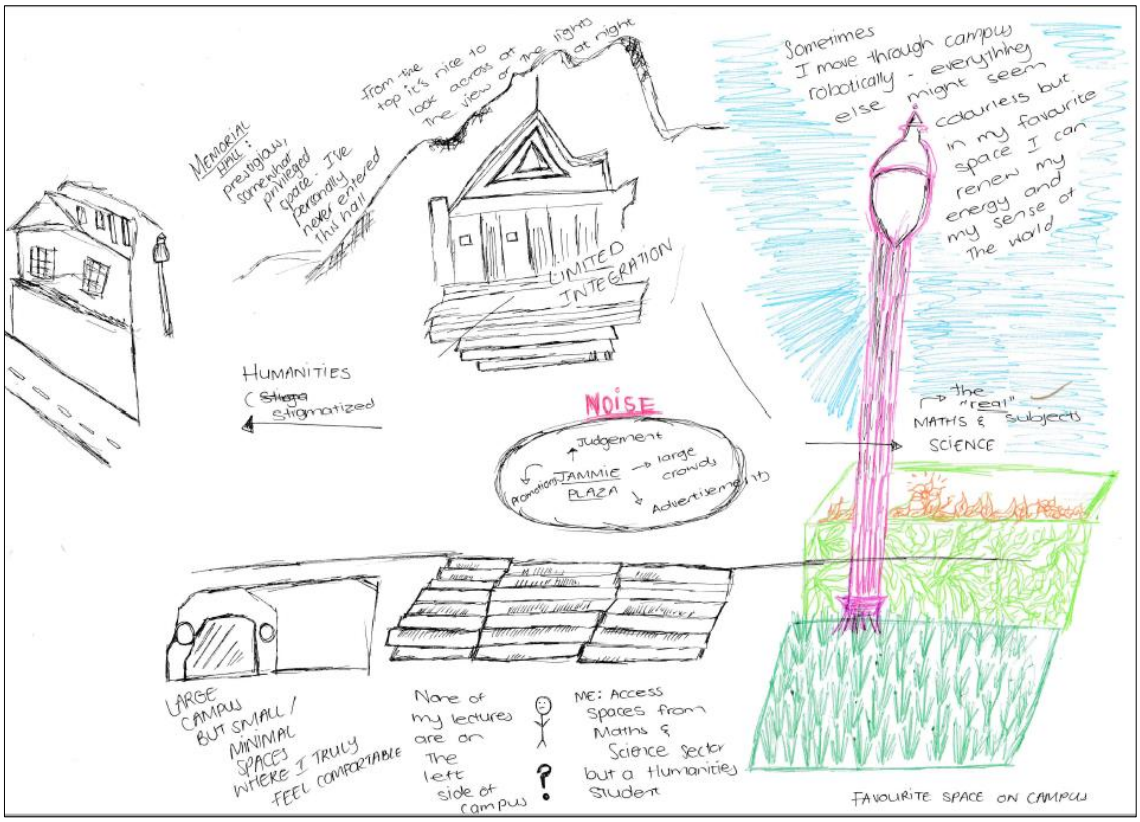

Figure 40*: Nicole's reflective map*

In Nicole's map, she describes textually in the top right-hand corner of the map her robotic movement through campus in which "*everything else might seem colourless*". She visually underscores this textual construction with her limited use of colour across her map. She uses colour only twice, representing the disruption of her experience of spatial monotony in different ways. Firstly, she draws in colour to illustrate her *"favourite space on campus"*, a section of lawn which acts as a refuge and respite (which also features in one of her photo-stories discussed in Chapter Seven). Secondly, she employs colour in the lettering of the word "noise" on the Plaza, a noise which breaks the robotic monotony of her typical everyday campus trajectory. Both the content of the word "noise", that is, its textual meaning, as well as the size and colour of the letters in relation to the rest of the reflective map, work visually and textually to represent the material experience of Nicole's body moving through the Plaza. The Plaza is drawn as a self-contained circle in which she places the text, "judgement"

"promotions" "large crowds" and "advertisements", circulating the "Jammie Plaza" label. The "advertisement" text breaks the label and spills out of the Plaza circle (much as crowds of students, staff and other bodies on campus spill out of the Plaza area). The swirl of words and arrows, as with Maria's map, is mimetic of the material crush of crowds during the busy Thursday meridian hour.

In her reflective map, Nicole similarly challenges the construction of the Plaza as a place of connection by hinting at the racialised organisation of Plaza space. Across her drawing of the Sarah Baartman Hall she writes in block letters: "LIMITED INTEGRATION". Nicole's Plaza trajectories as depicted on this map, encompass experiences of being the target of promotion and advertisement from outside corporations; of being watched; and of moving through segregated crowds to other classes or her spaces of refuge. The affect Nicole connects to the Plaza is a sense of being judged and feelings of discomfort ("*large campus but small/minimal spaces where I truly feel comfortable*").

Thabo, in his photo-story below similarly references the racial segregation of the student population on campus:

Figure 41: *Thabo's photo-story*

Caption: When I first came to UCT in 2017, it almost felt like a dream, everything was not as I had imagined, but rather, it was better than I had thought, everyone and anyone of any race was inclusive, helpful, helpless, kind, always smiling my way and "too good to be true". Not to mention the incredible, almost vintage buildings, each by the excellence of its faculty, but still inclusive of everyone. Everyone is welcome! So I thought. But the question is, what went wrong? Was I just seeing what I have always wanted to see, and now reality is revealing itself? I had forgotten that this is a university, and it requires people in order for it to be called a university … And let's just say in the end, a human is a human. Different personalities, likes, dislikes, the list goes on, but also not forgetting, hidden true colours. Anyway, I guess my point is that I started noticing the patterns of socio-racial segregation, I started noticing that every race would prefer to socialize most of the time, but also not all of the time, with people from the same race as theirs

Although Thabo's caption discusses segregation on campus more broadly, his photograph features the Plaza and the Hall as a specific example of student self-segregation. In the caption, Thabo textually suggests that initially, he was oblivious to the patterns of racial segregation within the student body, which eventually become more apparent (*"Was I just seeing what I have always wanted to see, and now reality is revealing itself"*). His

photograph acts, in a way, as his visual reveal of the reality his caption's text references. The Plaza Steps are unusually empty, with an absence of any groups of seated students. The student trajectories chronicled in his photograph are not those of connection, leisure, or socialising, but encompass students alone, racially segregated and mostly in movement across and away from the Plaza. This reveals Thabo's Plaza identity construction, namely a place in which the deep ruptures within the student body are manifest. However, these elements of the photograph may relate, of course, to the time of day or weather.

Racial self-segregation at UCT has been well-documented, as discussed in the literature review in Chapter Two (see Schrieff et al., 2010; Schrieff et al., 2005). The Jameson Plaza, in particular, is a noted space of student self-segregation. Tredoux et al. (2005), in a study focusing on the Plaza area, used cameras to take a series of photographs of the same area of Jammie Steps over time. This research demonstrated that when the Steps were relatively empty, students tended to self-segregate by race, but as the Steps filled and there were fewer options for seating, the seating pattern became more integrated. The authors suggest that this is to an extent indicative of the dynamic nature of the Plaza as a public space, in that the "state the space starts in, for instance, may determine or influence later states" (p. 428). However, as this pattern of self-segregation was consistently observed throughout the study, they conclude that the Jameson Plaza space "is not as 'fluid' as one might assume at first glance" (p. 428). In a later study by Alexander and Tredoux (2010), students similarly identified the Plaza as a "highly segregated" space.

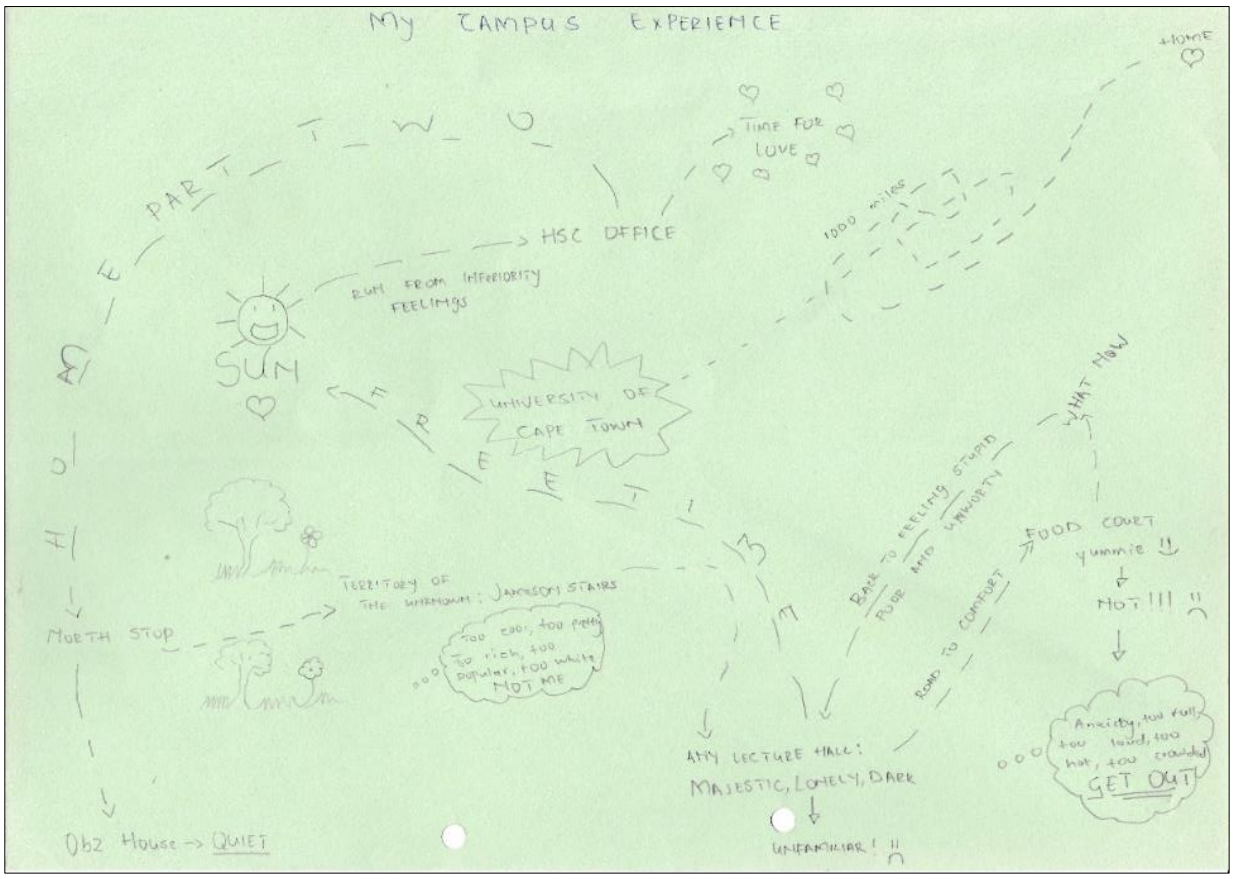

***Figure 42**: Zoliswa's reflective map*

In Zoliswa's reflective map, intersections of race and class explicitly shape the identity discourse produced for the Plaza on the map. Her "free time" leisure trajectory bends past the Plaza and continues to other places on campus. Visually the Jameson Plaza space on the map is comparatively unformed. She labels this space, an otherwise blank area, "territory of the unknown". She uses the full name "Jameson Stairs" rather than the more colloquial "Jammie Steps", hinting at a lack of ownership over the space. The use of the word "territory" is suggestive of boundaries, invoking a sense of a place that is governed by laws.

The boundaried construction of the Plaza is reinforced by the thought bubble she draws hovering over the Plaza on the map, emphasising that these boundaries are classed and raced. Zoliswa fills the thought bubble with the text "too cool, too pretty, too rich, too popular, too white. NOT ME". The repetition of the word 'too' – both textually and visually

– evokes a sense of being overwhelmed, similar to that Maria and Nicole depict on their reflective maps; however, Zoliswa's construction is more explicitly tied to her intersecting identities. The implication here is that Zoliswa's intersecting identities are 'not enough' for the Jameson Plaza, representing an active alienation from the Plaza space. This alienation relates on the one hand to the identities that the Plaza was built for, the students envisioned by Solomon (1919), the young, white men of the Cape Colony, but is also overlaid with contemporary iterations of the norms dictating what students should look like, dress like, speak like to be 'cool' or 'popular' and thus comfortable on the Plaza. Some of these norms are related to race, but also to wealth, clothing and aspects of physical appearance. I will pick up and elaborate in more detail on this sense of norms in University space in the chapter to follow.

For these students whose Plaza trajectories are discussed here, the experience of being among crowds of other students in this place is not connected in their maps, photo-stories and discussions to an affective experience of belonging, fit, comfort or ease, but rather to a state of unease, alienation, anxiety and separation. The affective identity discourse produced for the Jameson Plaza is thus one of alienation and discomfort.

5.4 Discussion: Place and Race (and Class and Gender) on the Jameson Plaza

This chapter has shown that the same university place may be 'read' in a multitude of ways. University spaces are experienced, used, and constructed differently by different people (Samura, 2016a, 2016b). These different identity discourses produced for the Plaza are intimately connected to race, class, and gender and broader hegemonic discourses about who constitutes a legitimate university student. Most of the students who drew on a Jameson Plaza identity discourse of belonging and connection within the data did not reflect on their race or class identity in their representation of the Plaza. Although there are certainly students

from a range of intersecting identities who use the Jameson Plaza for leisure and socialising, most of the participants who constructed the Plaza in this way throughout the ethnography, and all of the participants whose data is discussed in Section 5.3.1, were white and middle-class. However, it is arguable that the interplay of race, class and other intersecting identities in the construction of this Plaza identity is evident by omission. 'Whiteness' is often an unnamed and unmarked norm to those who occupy its position of structural advantage (Frankenberg, 1993). Indeed, the ability to view one's experience in a particular place outside of the prism of race and class, is undoubtedly a consequence of a position of white privilege (McIntosh, 1990).

Throughout the data set, it was most commonly black students who directly referenced their race and class identities in the Plaza identity discourses that they produced. The Jameson Plaza as a place, although of course always contested and in constant negotiation, is for many students still intimately tied to whiteness. The question then is what makes this space "too rich" or "too white", in the perspectives of students like Zoliswa? On the one hand, this discourse is predicated on the intersecting identities of the bodies whose trajectories are most commonly within that place. In Tredoux et al.'s (2005) study of seating patterns on Jameson Plaza mentioned above, the authors found that the Plaza was most frequently used by white students, which they suggest was due to the greater proportional representation of white students in the student body at that time. However, some 15 years later, although black students are now the majority of the student body, the Plaza is still considered by many black students as a place to avoid. The black students in one of the focus groups, for example, suggested a similar need to avoid the Plaza:

***Megan**: I try to avoid Jammie Plaza*

***Josie**: Why?*

***Megan:** Because I feel like that is where people judge you the most*

***Lubabalo**: Mmmhmm, you can just feel those eyes! [laughter]*

***Esme**: yes, yes!*

***Megan:** Ja! [yes] Like if you walking across it you can, like people they don't care they just stare, and I hate that, so I try and avoid that*

***Aisha**: I have a similar experience too. A couple of people mentioned the Jammie Plaza. People assess you in that stretch from the Jammie Plaza to your lecture theatre.*

(Extract 5.4; focus group)

'Coloured' participants in Alexander and Tredoux's (2010) study described a similar sense of racialised gaze on the Plaza, with one participant stating: "If you like loud and out of place on the [Jammie] stairs then everybody looks at you, you have to know your place" (p. 379).

Does the Plaza retain its identity of whiteness and affluence because white, middle-class students still use this space more commonly? Arguably, although the student body has increasingly begun to diversify, many students still position the Plaza as a 'white space', or a 'rich space' and thus avoid it, maintaining this identity of 'whiteness'. New first-year students coming into the University space follow and thus maintain these spatialised norms.

Conversely, it is notable that the Plaza, in particular, has retained this identity of whiteness in comparison to other places on campus. The rigidity of this particular Plaza identity perhaps relates to processes and dynamics that go beyond the ordering and frequency of bodies in space. I would argue that how the Plaza may be raced, classed or gendered is also related to the ideologies underpinning the design of this place and the dominant identity constructed for the Plaza in broader public discourse, as outlined in the first half of this chapter. For Nick and James in extract 5.1, for example, although they present their decisions to use the Plaza space as rooted in convenience, the implicit spatial familiarity they associate with the Plaza is linked to the broader hegemonic multimodal discourses of the Jameson

Plaza. As white, middle-class, young men who grew up in the affluent suburbs surrounding the University and attended SACS, the Plaza encompasses an arrangement of space that they are particularly accustomed to and at ease with (I will discuss this further in Chapter Six). For James and Nick, although they do not explicitly state it here, their construction of the Plaza as a place that "feels easy" and "fits" is connected to the fit between their specific student identities and the broader ideologies underpinning the Plaza design. These experiences of ease and comfort are arguably based, in part, on the coherence between their student identities and that of the dominant constructions of the place.

5.5 Conclusion

The identity discourses of the Jameson Plaza, as a place of belonging and connection or a place of alienation and discomfort, are intimately tied to the various intersecting identities of the students whose everyday trajectories make up this place. Places are in constant negotiation, they have a multitude of possible identities; however, historical and dominant identities can be hard to shift. The inclusion of different bodies and diverse trajectories has not necessarily meant a shift in the hegemonic identity discourses connected to the Jameson Plaza as a place. As Hopkins and Dixon (2006) caution:

> To observe that different groups may construe the same space in different ways does not mean that all are equally placed to act on the basis of their understandings. Often particular constructions predominate and are so effective in shaping people's spatial behaviour that we are blind to their operation (p. 177).

This chapter illustrates the complexity and durability of the spatial identities on campus, despite the fluidity of space and place. However, examining how the University's spaces and places are produced is an essential component of the process of producing other, more welcoming identities for higher education spaces and places. As Matus and Talburt (2009)

assert, “understanding the accomplishments of space as constructed can allow us to imagine institutional places – and their relations – otherwise” (p. 526). Revealing how dominant institutional discourses may reify particular spatial imaginaries within Universities is an important step in the process of contesting and destabilising such identity discourses (Matus & Talburt, 2009).

What then is the active archive of the Jameson Plaza place? This is an institutional space, both public and private, built into the side of a mountain on land misappropriated, stolen, exploited and donated; constructed in a neoclassical European style by African workers and using African stone. A place in which students experience both alienation and connection, in which protests happen and students and staff take smoke breaks between classes. A place of transitionary place names honouring figures of colonial exploitation and increasingly, those who experienced great oppression and colonial violence. A place in which graduations are held, exams are passed or failed, in which plants change, die and are replanted with cycles of rain and drought. A place in which the historical dynamics and meanings of the institution make themselves felt across time and space, and the past and present of this University are held together in tension. The identity of this place is a constant push and pull in which students must, ultimately, live and be and eat their lunch.

Chapter Six: Institutional Power Geometries, Affect and Identity

The previous chapter examined the identities that students produce for a particular place on campus. This chapter aims to explore the construction and negotiation of students' *own* identities in space and place. As the dissertation is positioned at the nexus of psychology and geography, this chapter considers the psychological concepts of identity and affect through a lens informed by spatial theorising. Accordingly, this section of the analysis explores the institutional power geometries (see Massey, 2005; 2009) at play at UCT across three specific dimensions: 1). Spatial memory and material familiarity; 2). Material campus symbolism; and 3). Spatialised social practices and relations. The concept of 'power geometries' refers to the understanding that "space is imbued with power" and simultaneously, "that power in its turn always has a spatiality" (Massey, 2009, p. 19). In different ways, the interplay of space and power across these dimensions engenders experiences of spatialised belonging or spatialised alienation on campus. The affective potentialities of campus places (Durrheim et al., 2013), in turn, influence the types of identities students construct for themselves across campus space. This chapter will examine these three dimensions of UCT's power geometries, and, in conclusion, consider how these three dimensions might together produce the 'vibe' of institutional spaces (see Durrheim et al., 2013).

6.1 Spatial Memory and Material Familiarity

The first section of this chapter will consider the dynamics of spatial memory, and the material familiarity with campus space, enabled through *proximity* to or *legacy* connections to UCT. For many students, when they first step foot on campus as students, they already to some extent 'know' the campus space. This material familiarity was evident, for example, in the previous chapter in extract 5.1 in Nick and James' discussion of the familiarity of the

Jameson Plaza. This spatial knowledge is not held equally by all students. It may come from residential proximity to the campus while growing up or it may result from legacy association with UCT. I would argue that this spatial and material familiarity breeds a particular sense of belonging and comfort for these students when they first arrive on campus and influences the types of student identities that they construct for themselves.

6.1.1 Proximity

Many UCT students grow up and attend schools in the suburbs immediately surrounding UCT. Chapter Four outlined how the elevation of the Groote Schuur site was based in part on discourses of colonial surveillance and Rhodes' desire to look out over the Empire (Gibson, 2006). However, as was specifically intended by Solomon (1919), the elevation of the Main Campus means that UCT can be seen from many locations in the suburbs below, allowing the surrounding suburbs to return the University's gaze. Through this 'looking', discourses about and identities for UCT are constructed. The visual prominence of the Main Campus in the panoramic backdrop to the city (and particularly that of the Southern Suburbs[40]), allows the image of the University to take root within in the spatial imaginaries (see Urson et al., forthcoming; Watkins, 2015) of the young people growing up in the suburbs below:

> ***Nick**: [Standing on Jameson Plaza][41] You drive past, growing up in Cape Town [Nick grew up in the Southern Suburbs]. I'd drive past all the time. So, you see the creepers and the vines, it's always what I've associated with UCT.*
>
> (Extract 6.1; roving interview)

[40] The Southern Suburbs are a group of predominantly affluent, middle- and upper-class suburbs located to the Southeast of the slopes of Table Mountain. During apartheid, the suburbs in this group were mostly designated 'white'.

[41] To situate these extracts and in line with the spatial focus of this dissertation, throughout this chapter I will foreground each quote from an interview with a description of the location on campus in which the interview/focus group took place.

As UCT comes to form part of potential students' spatial imaginaries, there is a certain material familiarity even before students arrive on campus. Students have a representational discourse to associate with the University, which may differ from the identity they construct for the institution when they eventually enrol, but which offers them an initial blueprint from which to navigate campus space.

This pre-familiarity may also allow some potential students to construct a projected identity of themselves as future UCT students. As a teenager, for example, I would gaze out of the window of my high school Chemistry classroom onto the UCT residences in the distance and imagine myself as a student in these residences. Through these many hours of daydreaming, I produced for myself a future UCT subjectivity which was, I think, integral to my drive to attend UCT after I matriculated from school. Although I never lived in residence, when I would occasionally catch the Jammie Shuttle from the bus stop located at those residences, I felt a portal open between my high school and university identities, blurring these particular constructions of myself across time and space. A sense of belonging at university is, of course, predicated on many coexisting processes, as the sections below will explore. However, before a potential student even attends UCT, the ability to imagine oneself in that space can lay the groundwork for a future affective state of belonging on campus. It is important to note here that the students who grow up in the Southern Suburbs surrounding the University are – due to the legacy of the Group Areas Act[42] – predominantly middle-class, and frequently white. When Nick says, "*You drive past, growing up in Cape Town*", which potential students will regularly drive past UCT is, to an extent, determined by race and class.

[42] The Group Areas Act of 1950 was enacted by the apartheid government as a "cornerstone" of apartheid policy aimed at eliminating mixed communities and ensuring racially segregated neighbourhoods. Under this Act, central urban and city areas (such as most of the suburbs surrounding UCT) were designated as whites-only residential and business zones. Many black people (i.e. South Africans labelled under apartheid's 1950 Population Registration Act as 'black African', 'coloured,' or 'Indian') living in whites-only areas were forcibly, and often violently, evicted from their homes. In Cape Town, for example, many people were forcibly relocated to the Cape Flats (SAHO, 2019d).

Once students arrive at UCT, the proximity of their homes to campus can further strengthen their budding sense of belonging and the identities that they construct for themselves. In the roving interview, Alex took me to the Jammie Steps to point out the view of his house:

> ***Alex****: [Standing on Jameson Plaza] We're on Jammie Plaza and we're looking out, and I'm just seeing if we should be able to see what I wanted to [pauses and peers out at the view]. The reason why I came here initially was because I can see my house from here, over there all the way in the distance. Do you see that yellow building there? [Points out his house] And what I often do, I run to University and I [laughs] always like it because I can run all the way up to the steps … and I can look back and I can see where I came from. And partially I feel like Rocky*[43] *[laughs] I came from there. It's a literal, physical representation of the progress I feel when I'm at university, right? So, it's another way in which the way I contextualise the space is a very positive one, and I feel like a lot of people don't have the same thing*
>
> (Extract 6.2; roving interview)

For many of the participants when the distance between their homes and the University was short, so too was the distance between their home and university identities. In the extract above, Alex's home acts as an anchoring point from which he constructs his 'UCT self'. When looking back and seeing his home from campus, Alex also looks back at his progressive subjectivities. He charts his movement into his UCT student identity, his 'Rocky identity', one of success and achievement. Looking back at his home, he is compelled

[43] The fictional character Rocky Balboa from the *Rocky* film series.

simultaneously onwards on his twin journeys: physically to campus and metaphorically through his degree.

For other participants whose homes are located on the borders of the view from Upper Campus, in places that have historically been sites of research rather than homes of potential students, the distance between their home and UCT identities was often vast. Siya, a black working-class student from Gugulethu, a township on the outskirts of Cape Town, took a photograph of the same view Alex and I discussed in the extract above:

Figure 43: *Siya's photo-story*

Caption: Sometimes I even think of going back home, as I'm not allowed on campus to be myself (an extrovert).

In this photo-story, capturing an instance of looking out from the Jameson Plaza from much the same position that Alex and I stood at in extract 6.2, Siya alludes to his sense of alienation on campus. The influence of the other dimensions of the geometries of power on Siya's affective experience of alienation will be explored further in the sections below.)

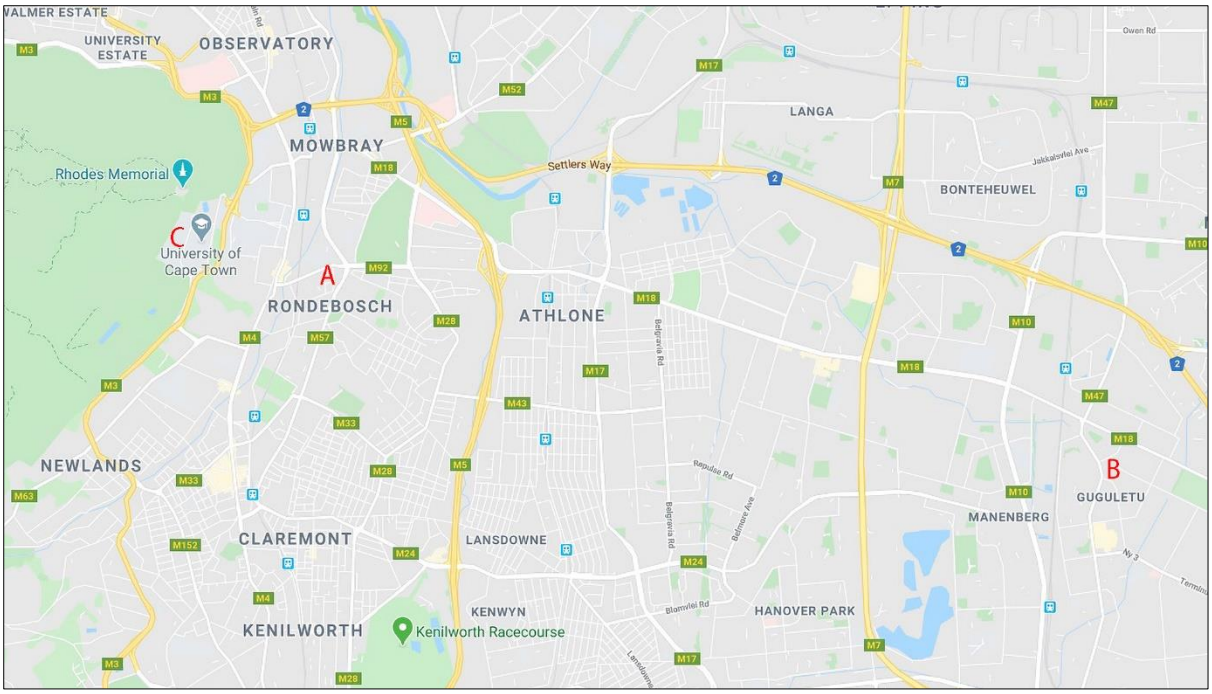

Figure 44: *City map*

A: Alex's suburb

B: Siya's suburb

C: The location of the roving interview in extract 6.2 and the photo-story in Figure 43

In this photo-story, Siya looks back at his home self as his authentic extrovert identity, one he cannot embody when on campus. Unlike Alex, when looking back over the city from the Jameson Plaza, Siya is pulled back, away from campus, towards home. Siya's struggle to construct a 'UCT self' was evident in his reflective map:

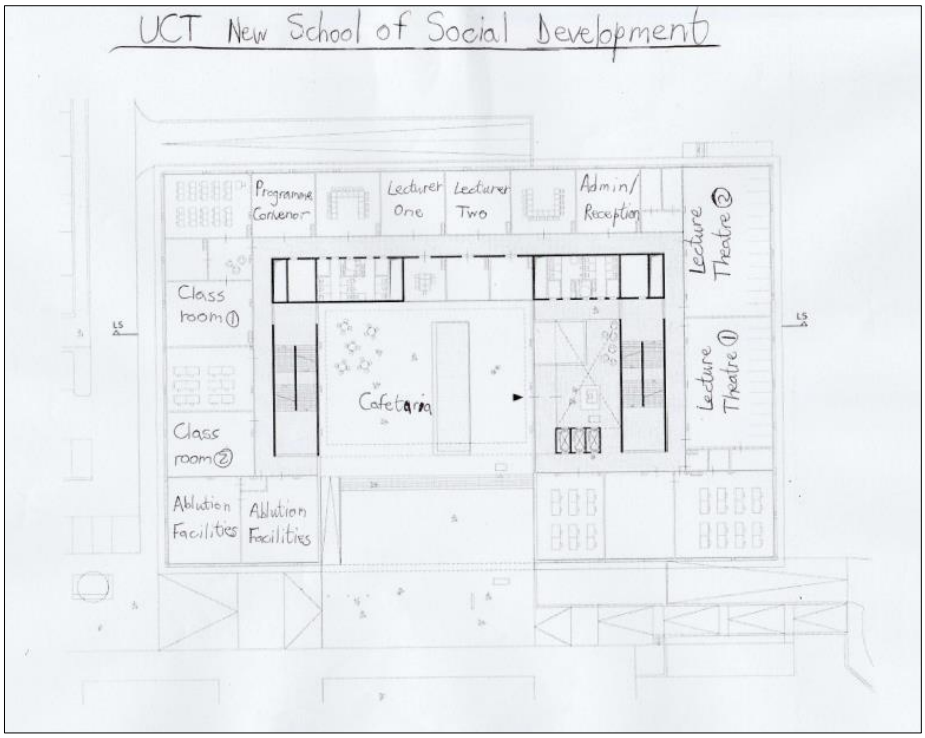

Figure 45: *Siya's reflective map*

Siya's identity is absent from his reflective map. He downloaded a computer-generated architectural plan of his department. His only intervention into this official image was to write the name and function of certain rooms. This stands in stark contrast to most of the other reflective maps produced by participants, who documented their thoughts, emotions and activities, and frequently included representations of themselves (e.g. through stick figures, arrows, text, emojis). Siya cannot see himself in this place, thus he cannot represent himself within it.

Of course, some students who live in suburbs that are located nowhere near the University, or students who come from other cities or countries, may find the campus architecture and design familiar and easily develop a sense of belonging. However, the legacy of apartheid spatial planning, and its entrenchment of racialised and now classed spatial privilege (Durrheim et al., 2013), inevitably has repercussions. As mentioned above, the suburbs surrounding the University – those from which students may run up to campus from

home – remain largely white and middle-class, although it should be noted that there are increasingly new divisions and patterns within racialised experience (e.g. Neither Siya nor Alex is white, but unlike Siya, Alex is middle-class.) Students from a working-class suburb, a township or an informal settlement, are unlikely to look back from the Jammie Steps and see their homes. The distance students from these areas travel to reach campus from home is long and typically complicated, often involving multiple forms of public transport. The free University shuttle goes mainly to the middle-class neighbourhoods nearby. The University's location within the city, which suburbs it most easily serves, and for whom it acts as a familiar, knowable landmark are currents at work within the institutional power geometries.

6.1.2 Legacy

Potential UCT students may also develop a pre-existing spatial understanding of the UCT campus through a legacy association with the University. This may occur, for example, through relatives and friends who have worked at or attended UCT. This kind of material familiarity is unlikely for students who are first-generation university students. Again, this is largely raced and classed, with the historic demographics of UCT students and staff (as outlined in Chapter Four) meaning that students who are second- and third-generation UCT students are most likely to be white and middle-class. Many of the white students in the study had visited the campus before they enrolled as students, often with relatives who had shown them around:

***Josie**: [Walking down University Avenue] Had you been to UCT before?*

***Anthony**: Ja, I'd been here last year to visit my friends. I'd been to some lectures with them and then also [my brother] had shown me around when he was here*

***Josie**: And your dad went here too?*

***Anthony**: Ja, he did*

(Extract 6.3, roving interview)

***Josie**: [Standing on the rugby fields] Had you ever been here to the campus before you started going here yourselves?*

***James**: I came once or twice with my brother before I came to UCT*

(Extract 6.4; roving interview)

As a third-generation UCT student myself with many family members who have worked at this University, I had been on campus several times before I began my first year in 2009. This legacy association with the institution can produce a particular sense of comfort and belonging on campus. This affective experience was not always linked to race, as with Alex below who describes himself as a student of mixed heritage[44], certainly class is also implicit in this particular type of association with UCT:

***Alex**: [Standing outside the John Day Building] She's [his mother] a [academic job description], her office is up over there. And the reason why I'm walking past this area is, growing up, I was kind of familiar with the University space in a way that a lot of people aren't. This whole John Day Building, I remember going through very, very often, right? It's my mom's work. She parks there [points his mother's parking space]. Often when I'm talking to people about how they feel intimidated by the University space – let's go down this way – it's hard for me to say it doesn't affect*

[44]Alex's self-description is quite specific, to the point that I worry it may identify him if I include it here.

me. Even though I don't feel like it consciously did, but based on what other people told me about how they view the University as like a closed-off space or something, I mean, whereas for me it's not as intimidating … and then the reason why I'm also looking at this [gesturing to the statue of an animal in front of John Day entrance] We are at the John Day front entrance and there's this metallic statue … I feel like, maybe why I have a familiarised form of walking on campus is because I remember walking past here with my dad and he would go, "You know I actually cast things for this guy". What he does is that sometimes, each of his pieces are separate … I remember that with my dad going past here.

(Extract 6.5; roving interview)

Through visiting the campus as a child with his parents, Alex developed a material familiarity with the institutional space, a *"familiarised form of walking on campus*", which demystified and normalised the University within his spatial imaginary before he arrived on campus in first year. His subsequent student construction of space at UCT was overlaid with his childhood understandings and productions of the space as his mother's place of work. He still reads the space through his connection to his mother. He encounters a place in which his parents' identities are embedded, sometimes even literally. He describes an instance of his father's direct involvement in crafting a piece of campus sculpture that he walks past every day and seeks to show me during the roving interview. Alex's sense of ease and belonging on campus was mimetically reflected in the roving interviews. He took a more direct role in leading the focus and direction of the movement across campus than most of the other roving interviewees and as he walked he stopped frequently to talk to some of the many people he knew on campus.

This section has explored the spatial knowledge and campus familiarity engendered through students' proximity and legacy connections to UCT, and how this may enable a sense

of comfort and belonging on campus. However, some students may have a material familiarity with the institution without growing up nearby or having been on campus before. These students may have a cultural material familiarity with the material campus symbolism, as the architecture, artefacts and organisation of space resonate with their particular culture and intersecting identities. This will be explored in the section to follow.

6.2 Material Campus Symbolism

When students first arrive at UCT – well before they begin to interact with their peers and staff to any meaningful extent – the first cues that they receive about what it 'means' to be a UCT student come from their physical surroundings (Costello, 2001). The materiality of the institution – the architecture and the design of campus space, the buildings, the décor, artwork and statues on display, and the names chosen to label space – sends messages to the students and staff who use the space daily and plays a role in "producing particular kinds of educational subjects" (Dixon & Janks, 2018, p. 91). As Wood (2020) suggests, buildings "are both sites and mediums of discourses" (p. 5). Buildings, much like text, are semiotic objects (Kress, 2010), but "we can (and usually have to) go inside buildings" (Wood, 2020, p. 469). Consequently, the negotiation of the meaning of physical space on campus is "more direct and less avoidable" than with other types of semiotic objects (Wood, 2020, p. 469).

Physical environments do not act as socialising agents as such. The messages they communicate to students come, in part, from the people who design, decorate, organise and maintain the University buildings and spaces (Costello, 2001). In entering a building on campus, for example, we are "subjecting ourselves (even in small part) to someone else's design" (Wood, 2020, p. 469). However, although meanings may change over time and contemporary students may 'read' campus architecture and design differently, campus buildings and the ideology underpinning their production usually outlast those involved in

their construction and organisation (Costello, 2001; Laubscher, 2019). Solomon, for example, died before the Groote Schuur Campus was completed, but the sense of grandeur and superiority he sought to impart with his neoclassical design, stipulated by Rhodes' will (see Solomon, 1919), persists to this day. As Dixon and Janks (2018) assert, "architecture produces material forms that endure, imbued with ideologies of the past that are carried forward into the present and on into the future" (p. 107).

There are, of course, a range of architectural and décor styles and arrangements of space across UCT. In UCT's over hundred-year history, a myriad of design choices have been enacted, based on UCT's perception of what constituted appropriate educational space at the time (see Phillips, 2019). However, as has been outlined in Chapter Four, the original core design for the Groote Schuur Campus is Solomon and Walgate's neoclassical design, strongly influenced by the colonial Cape architecture of Rhodes' architect, Herbert Baker (Phillips, 1993, 2019), and this is, arguably, the dominant style of the institution in the spatial imaginaries of many UCT students.

For many students, particularly white, middle-class students, this architectural and symbolic tradition on campus is reminiscent of other places in which they have spent time, such as the schools they attended, and connects to the material culture in which they were raised. In the roving interview with James and Nick, as we walked past the War Memorial on Upper Campus, James remarked: *"We had war memorials at SACS so it's quite normal, it would be weird without it I think"* (extract 6.6, roving interview) (see Figure 16 for photograph of the War Memorial).

When I then asked Nick and James if they thought there were any other similarities between the architecture of SACS and UCT, they commented on the Sarah Baartman Memorial Hall:

James: *[standing on the Jameson Steps] It's similar to the Quad, reminds me of that*

Nick: *The Main Hall at SACS has also got the pillars so it's a similar kind of design*

(Extract 6.7; roving interview)

For these students, the material consistencies between their school and university have repercussions for their experience on campus. Nick and James described how they 'feel' on campus as follows:

James*: [standing on the Jameson Steps] Especially the first few weeks I kind of had that wide-eyed sort of doe in headlights but now I'm used to it, sort of feels like school for me … It just feels routine*

Nick*: Ja [yes], very routine*

(Extract 6.8; roving interview)

UCT is constructed as feeling like school, partly because it looks like their school (Figure 47)[45]. However, in the context of South Africa, it is most commonly the Model C and private schools that share an architectural coherence with UCT (see Figures 46 and 47 below).

[45] For an aerial view of the current SACS buildings and grounds see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gpq-JWROn9k&feature=emb_logo&ab_channel=SACSHighSchool

***Figure 46**: Entrance to Rustenburg Girls' High School in Rondebosch, photo by Shaun Swingler*

***Figure 47:** Entrance to the South African College School, screenshot from SACS High School Youtube Channel*

Costello (2001) suggests that the material environment at education institutions acts as a form of hidden curriculum, to be interpreted differently by students depending on their prior socialisation into the dominant discourses evident within this curriculum. Students like Nick

and James are already familiar with the nuances of this particular hidden curriculum, and this engenders a sense of familiarity and routineness on campus.

Neoclassical architecture is often used in education settings to convey authority and prestige (Costello, 2001). However, the 'grandness' of the Groote Schuur Campus design is read differently, depending on students intersecting identities. Many of the white, middle-class students in this study constructed this particular architectural style as inspiring:

> ***James****: [looking up at Upper Campus from the rugby fields] I've always really liked seeing the way it's [UCT] perched on the mountain … the grandness of it, it just fits … especially when you're driving along the side, it just looks impressive, it stands out and it makes a statement that stays with you.*
>
> ***Josie****: And how does it make you guys feel to be students in such a grand looking place?*
>
> ***Nick****: Quite proud. We feel special. You feel slightly more important, the fact that you get to go here.*
>
> ***James****: For me, I've always associated it [the buildings] with growing up, with being an adult, because you always look up there and your world seems so small until you get to UCT … but the old buildings, I can't really see them changing. I think they stand for academia and encouraging people to learn, and that's a good message*
>
> (Extract 6.9; roving interview)

Nick and James as young, white middle-class men who attended SACS are precisely the students Solomon had in mind when he designed the Groote Schuur Campus. Unlike most of the other participants, they could have attended UCT at the time this campus was first built. As this extract above illustrates, the consequences of attending a University designed around your subjectivity can be profound. Nick and James feel encouragement and pride as students within this space. This was a message they encountered even before they attended UCT, as

young people growing up in the surrounding suburbs. For these participants, these buildings engender a student identity of importance and privilege. Similarly, Carla, a white, middle-class woman, positions the architecture as motivating:

> ***Carla**: [Standing in the avenue between PD Hahn and the Food Court which is largely Brutalist in design] This avenue's quite ugly but the University Avenue, when I think of UCT that's where I think of because that's the ivy, that's the really pretty trees. So, if I'm disillusioned with what I'm doing in my life I go and sit in the Avenue and I feel a bit better [laughs] I feel more like I am where I signed up to be.*
>
> (Extract 6.10, roving interview)

Carla uses space to manage her affective experience of student life. To alleviate her sense of disillusionment, she places herself within a space that more thoroughly represents her 'imagined UCT', namely, University Avenue with its ivy-covered, tree-lined western architectural inheritance. The ivy, the pillars and columns, the pediments, the granite steps, are architectural tropes that symbolise academic power and the respectability of the buildings (Costello, 2001), and thus, the degree into which Carla is enrolled. For all three of these students, the University architecture matches their personal construction of what a University should be and what it should look like. This is an interpretation brought about by broader hegemonic and historical discourses dictating how places of education should be designed. For these students and the student identities that they construct for themselves, the physical campus matters.

However, this is of course not a uniform experience for all students. Other participants in the study doubted the impact the design and organisation of space had on their daily student life:

> ***Rachel:** [standing looking at Sarah Baartman Hall from the Jameson Plaza] I remember obviously coming up Jammie Stairs, it's really, really grand. If you went to*

SACS then maybe it's less so because SACS has got something very similar [Rachel's brother attended SACS]. It's like this fairly imposing Greek – faux-Greek – style. Also, incomplete! [laughs] I don't think it's something I ever analysed in very much detail. It looked historical. In some ways that gave it some kind of weight, some kind of credence. I also never questioned how it looked, it just was, you know?

***Josie**: What if you'd gone somewhere like Varsity College[46] which is like, a building on Main Road? Does it matter to you?*

***Rachel**: What the space looks like? I think it does impact how you experience. I'm trying to think because when I went to [a university in the UK Rachel attended for her MA] it has no grandeur. They weren't trying to be anything but functional. I think it's part of their strong socialist basis. I think for me, I didn't do any worse in a space that didn't have pillars. [laughs] Pillars and stairs for days!*

(Extract 6.11; roving interview)

Rachel avers that her academic performance was unchanged when she attended a university lacking UCT's neoclassical grandeur. There are, of course, multiple factors that co-mingle to influence students' performance at and experience of higher education institutions. However, it should be noted that while individuals are continually subject to the socialising influence of their environment, they generally are unaware of this process (McDowell, 1999). Arguably, for Rachel who attended Rustenburg Girls High School (see Figure 43 above) (although not exhibiting quite as many pillars as SACS, see Figure 44), the architecture is normalised, it 'just was', because it echoes the construction of the previous educational institutions she attended.

[46] Varsity College is a private higher education institution located in an office park on the main road in the suburb below.

Where these students interpreted the physical campus as inspiring at best, or irrelevant at worst, other participants positioned the design of campus space as actively alienating. Largely, these were students for whom the various aspects of their intersecting identities were not represented in the design:

> ***Ramabina:*** *[Sitting in the coffee shop in the foyer of the New Economics Building, Middle Campus] I think for me it's about space representing a perspective, it represents cultures, it represents people's identity. At the moment and previously my experience with the University campus was that it was not representative. As somebody who's black within the architecture of the University, I was not able to see myself.*
>
> (Extract 6.12, interview)

An inability to see oneself in the material symbolism of the University can have serious implications for students' wellbeing. The institution's material and spatial traditions communicate to students that this place was not built for them, that they are not the intended or imagined 'UCT student'. Although the student body may have diversified, this material symbolism reminds students of the legacy of educational exclusion. It is important to note that such alienation is not only linked to *absence* and whitewashing of certain intersecting identities (e.g. black, female, working-class identities) in the materiality of the University and the invisibility of certain subjectivities in the institution's spatial archive, but also to the *presence* of deeply marginalising or stigmatising representations:

> ***Amanda****: [Standing in front of the Smuts Residence] So, Smuts Dining Hall*[47] *… they still have stained glass windows. I noticed that there weren't any black individuals represented in the artwork. And then I took a closer look, and actually there are but it's the way in which they are represented. So, it would be portraits of Jan van*

[47] Smuts is an all-male residence, but the students from the all- female residence, Fuller, eat in this Dining Hall.

Riebeeck and his arrival and then like slaves in the background. And that I found quite shocking, that it's still up there. We're working towards this transformation but the artwork on our campus still represents oppression and apartheid

***Josie**: Do you think artwork matters?*

***Amanda**: Of course! Of course, it matters! It's what everyone is looking at on a day-to-day basis … if we're representing oppression in our artwork that's what the institution stands for… the one time I felt really uncomfortable was when I actually realised, like I said, in Smuts, those windows … when we are surrounded by whatever the space represents that is infiltrated into our thought patterns and we are constantly reminded of this tragic history where oppression and slavery took place and these structures were built upon other people's oppression. As a person of colour, it's a reminder of the pain and suffering. And still to this day, most of my family live in poverty and people around me have to suffer because of the past … I don't know much about Smuts but I know like lots of people who were protesting for-*

***Josie**: He was an apartheid prime minister[48].*

***Amanda**: Oh [laughs] okay so I guess I don't like him [laughs] So, that's one of the reasons why I think the buildings should be renamed and the statues over there of their heads [points to the busts of Smuts and Fuller above the entrance to the residences] should be removed*

(Extract 6.13; roving interview)

Often stigmatising representations of blackness on campus are communicated through racist talk and interaction with other students and staff (see Higham, 2012; Woods, 2001). However, as this extract demonstrates, these representations can also be embedded within the

[48] My comment in the roving interview that Smuts was an "apartheid prime minister' was not quite correct. The formal apartheid system was introduced in 1948. Smuts was prime minister of South Africa prior to the official implementation of the apartheid systems – although as discussed above – many of his policies laid the foundation for the apartheid dispensation.

materiality of the institution, captured in stained glass, glowing with sunlight, in the walls of the University. Amanda sits in the dining hall of a male-only residence that is designed to mimic British Oxbridge educational space and named after a colonial prime minister, in an affluent suburb far removed from the Cape Flats on which she grew up, and she looks up at windows glorifying the colonial exploitation of people who look like her. As a coloured, cisgendered, working-class female (as per her own self-description), Amanda might not have known who Smuts was, but her intersecting identities chafe against these various contours of the spatial archive of the Smuts Dining Hall. This tension is indicative perhaps of a state of double consciousness (Du Bois, 1999). For students like Amanda, there is a contradictory experience of simultaneously viewing yourself through the eyes – and the stained glass windows – of a culture that stigmatises you, and yet wanting to view yourself positively; hence the discomfort she describes here.

These building names, these busts, these windows are monuments to figures in the University and country's past, which are reflective of broader institutional power relations across time and within the spaces of UCT (Durrheim et al., 2013; Tumubweinee, 2018). Drawing on Lefebvre (1991), Conlon (2004) argues that "monuments are representations of space wherein power relations are subsumed; they speak of a particular spatial code, which simultaneously commands bodies and orders space" (pp. 468-469). Durrheim et. al (2013) suggest, in other words, that these monuments act to "materialize power relations" by demonstrating and facilitating a "shared understanding of the ways in which a space might be used" (p. 61), which students, in turn, internalise, and which produce particular affective experiences on campus.

However, there is always nuance to these dynamics and processes of identity construction and affective experience in space. For many of the black students in this study, alienation or a state of double consciousness was only one dimension of their lives on

campus. Despite the experience Amanda describes above, throughout the roving interview she mainly positioned her residence as a welcoming, positive place. She described the joy of living close to her friends and boyfriend and she constructed her residence room as more of her own space than her own home:

> ***Amanda:*** *[Standing in front of the Fuller Residence] At home, I don't have my own room, so this is like a blessing to me, the space that I have here. I made it feel like home because it's my space, and it sounds clichéd but it is my home away from home because, I don't get to have the luxury of my own space when I go home.*
>
> ***Josie****: Where do you live?*
>
> ***Amanda****: Manenberg*[49]
>
> ***Josie****: And what have you done to your res' room to make it feel like that?*
>
> ***Amanda****: Oh, um [laughs] fairy lights, posters, it's very full and cluttered [laughs] so it looks a lot like my mind space [laughs] … home is like a very bad comparison for me, because I personally, at home, don't feel home. So, like I said at res I feel at home because of the space that I have created for myself.*
>
> (Extract 6.14, roving interview)

Amanda creates her own campus symbolism in her room through fairy lights and posters. This is a material symbolism that she feels represents her identity so closely that it "looks a lot like" her own "mind space". It is a space over which she has a sense of agency and represents an access to privilege. Despite the presence of alienating symbolism, living in this residence opens up space (literally) for the development of a new identity and access to a certain type of dignity and ownership over space that was difficult for her to access at home. Amanda's experience in residence, which elicits both alienation and belonging for her, illustrates the complexity of student experience on campus.

[49]A working-class suburb on the Cape Flats.

Aisha had a similarly ambivalent response to the architectural grandeur and symbolism of the University. She produced a photo-story with a close-up shot of peeling paint and cracks on a campus wall, entitled simply "Wall". Unlike most of the other photo-stories which presented wider framing of campus space, Aisha's photo-story zooms in to the micro-level of campus materiality:

Figure 48: *Aisha's photo-story*

Caption: Wall

In her follow-up interview, Aisha suggests the photo-story aimed to demystify and de-ideologise the elitist identity the University projects:

> ***Aisha:*** *[sitting in the Baxter theatre coffee shop] Going beyond the polish of UCT and how the space is presented as this very grand academic institution. The scraped paint it just allows the space to feel a lot more familiar, a lot more accessible … It invites more imagination … it speaks again to that image UCT puts out of itself that makes it feel so inaccessible*
>
> ***Josie****: What is that image?*

> ***Aisha**: Something symbolising wealth, grandeur, that we are the best University in Africa, that arrogance … It's showing that it's not going to be changed by any action you take … At work, people they'll ask, "Where are you studying?" When I say UCT … you get instant respect, and I get instant tips. The kids who are studying at CPUT[50] or UDubs[51] they don't. And I initially felt quite uncomfortable using that … but you end up taking some perverse pride in the grandeur of that image because it allows you to access so much … So, the gloss and the grandeur is something I definitely profit from, both in terms of how I conceive of myself, and I can throw my social weight around if I ever need to … which I think a lot of kids of colour don't get. Even so, I feel discomfort, do I belong in this particular space? No human can ever match up to this gloss, the buildings are so high and you're so small.*
>
> (Extract 6.15, follow-up interview)

Aisha destabilises UCT's discourses of its own superiority, and thus opens up other less alienating and more welcoming constructions. But while she raises the need to scrape off the gloss and problematises the institutional elitism as communicated through the design of this space, she also acknowledges how sometimes these discourses may work for her as well. As a "kid of colour" who often feels discomfort and questions her belonging, she can also at times occupy the student subject positions created by the multimodal discourse of this grand architecture and benefit from the material advantages that come from this UCT student identity.

It should be noted that the ethnographic data collection for this dissertation took place at a transitional moment for campus symbolism, and in particular the artwork displayed on

[50]Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) is a technical university.
[51]UDubs is a nickname for the University of the Western Cape (UWC), which was designated a 'coloured-only' university during apartheid.

campus. I began my data collection with students at a time when all of the artwork had been removed from campus as part of the WOAC's re-curation of the UCT collection (as was discussed in Chapter Four). Towards the end of the data collection process with students, the artwork was returned to campus spaces. It is perhaps because of the timing that of all of the myriad components that make up the material campus symbolism, campus artwork did not feature in the experiences of the study participants as prominently as I had expected. This demonstrates, perhaps, that the new curation, with more careful attention to representation, has succeeded in mediating some of the alienation in students' experience in relation to artwork (such as was described by Ramabina Mahapa in Chapter Four). It was only in relation to the décor and design that had not been changed on campus (e.g. Amanda's experience of the stained glass windows) that students described similar alienation.

This section has examined how students' affective experiences and identity constructions are to an extent influenced by material campus symbolism. The following section will examine the spatialised social practices and relations at work within the power geometries of UCT.

6.3 Spatialised Social Practices and Relations

As students become increasingly familiar with their physical surroundings on campus, they typically pay less overt attention to the artefacts, architecture and décor, and instead are often more focused on interpersonal relations and dynamics (see Costello, 2001). This is not to say, as the previous section has demonstrated, that the physical environment is not simultaneously influencing students' experience of campus, but that the impact of campus symbolism works together with other social practices in space. Relations between people on campus are central to the institution's materiality (Vincent, 2015) and the geometries of power regulating its everyday functioning.

There are always norms governing how individuals should 'be' in space. These norms should not be understood as global, overarching rules, for as Massey (2005) outlines, "there are no such rules, in the sense of a universal politics of abstract spatial forms; of topographic categories" (p. 166). Instead, these norms are spatialised social practices and relations which are always underpinned by power (Massey, 2005). The spatialised norms governing how to 'be' emerged centrally in how students at UCT experience space and construct their own identities. University campuses, like all spaces and places, have their own particular spatialised social practices (Robertson, 2010). Typically, the norms of these social practices and relations are informed by broader hegemonic Western discourses about the function of particular places and spaces in an institution for education and what constitutes appropriate student behaviour across these different educational spaces.

At one level, norms can relate simply to the function of certain university spaces (although, of course, how particular education spaces should function is always tied to broader ideologies). In classrooms and lecture theatres, for example, students should be quiet and studious, whereas in the cafeteria they may sit with friends, chat and eat. Unathi describes how in Main Library different areas are zoned for particular ways of communicating and accepted levels of noise through different coloured stickers:

> ***Unathi****: [Room in the Department of Psychology building] In the main library, there are sections with blue stickers. In the blue department, you can actually talk to the next person, and then red, no noise. So, there are rules that were made to control our social interactions here in Upper Campus. You can't go to go to the library and be there and have that energy you have in the cafeteria, because in the cafeteria you can talk to anyone.*
>
> (Extract 6.16, focus group)

These norms, however, go beyond the ordering of behaviour related to the function of the place (e.g. the library for studying, the cafeteria for socialising). Spatialised social practices on campus often work to discipline students into particular ways of behaving in space and are informed by broader discourses of race, gender, culture and sexuality; questions of who is considered a 'legitimate' student; and what is considered 'appropriate' student behaviour (Harwood et al., 2018). The policing of bodies in space is related to a range of behaviours, ways of being, means of self-expression, and other elements that make up students' identities. This includes, for example, how students talk (accent, volume, language usage, body language, ways of greeting) and their self-presentation (clothing, piercings, hair colour, tattoos). Siya, Thabo and Zoliswa for example, describe the dominance of English on campus and in particular the specific accent that is expected:

> ***Siya:*** *[Room in the Department of Psychology building] I've picked up there's a certain accent … that you have to have when you speak English here at Upper Campus, uh, and if you don't have that accent then you won't make a lot of friends. I think it's the people. There's this code of conduct that says, "Okay, when you are here at UCT you must do this, speak like this, have this sort of accent" which I totally disagree with.*
>
> (Extract 6.17, focus group)

> ***Thabo****: [Room in the Department of Psychology building] When I first got here, I felt like I didn't fit in anywhere, literally, in classes, in res, everywhere … because of my English. I'm from this lower-class school, everyone was just with their Model C*

English[52]*. So, I thought that you know, English was going to make you fit in everywhere.*

(Extract 6.18, focus group)

Zoliswa: *[Room in the Department of Psychology building] There's not much I identify with [on campus]*

Josie*: What do you think a space would look like that you would identify with?*

Zoliswa*: Hearing more people speak their mother tongue, speak vernacular. I would instantly feel welcome.*

(Extract 6.19, focus group)

This "code of conduct" policing the speech of black students in South African universities is well documented (see van Wyk, 2008). Researchers have found, for example, that despite the widening participation of black students in higher education in South Africa, black students are frequently excluded from 'epistemological access' if they cannot use the English language (grammar, logic, and rules) in particular ways (van Wyk, 2008). Higher education spaces are "discourse or speech communities" (White, 2011, p. 257) which privilege certain styles of communication, which are raced and classed. However, these modes of communication are not necessarily explicitly taught to students and are often part of the hidden curriculum of the norms that govern behaviour on campus (see Margolis, 2001). Students who are not sufficiently proficient in these dominant and expected modes of communication lack the "codes of power" with which to express themselves in a way that is considered appropriate (White, 2011, p. 254). Thus, these norms of communication are often examined through concepts such as cultural capital (see Baillie et al., 2019; Bhana, 2014).

[52] Middle-class, 'white'-accented English, referring to the type of English predominantly spoken at Model C schools.

Baillie et al (2019), for example, suggest that in higher education institutions the "delectable 'Model C' accent carries a dominant social and cultural capital that would enable the speaker to be welcomed and to 'feel at home'" (p. 135), and it is noteworthy how deeply spatialised these codes of conduct governing styles of communication are. The 'appropriateness' of Siya's accent and his modes of communication fluctuate across the different spaces he occupies, both across campus and the city more broadly:

> ***Siya****: [Room in the Department of Psychology building] It's definitely different at home because in Gugulethu [a township on the outskirts of Cape Town] I tend to be myself. I can speak to a person very far away and I can shout, and I won't be seen as weird. We can speak about anything, from relationships, to family life, to academic life. I get to be myself in my township area, unlike when I'm here because I don't get to be that person of being an extrovert that I am normally … the thing is that most of the students are good academically but they lack that social part of their lives which tends to make them more introverts. But fortunately, I have the best of both, when I'm in my township you don't see me as a UCT student. When I'm here maybe they don't see me as a UCT student, but when I'm in lectures and I talk about the courses that I do, then you start picking up, okay this guy really knows what he's studying. But when it comes to others, I think they lack that social side of their life, like being open, being friendly.*
>
> (Extract 6.20, focus group)

Siya does not directly link the norms governing his means of communication to race (although of course, due to the legacy of apartheid spatial planning, space in this way is innately raced and classed), but rather to spatialised modes of communication, making the distinction between spaces of extroversion and introversion. Siya suggests that the 'extroverted' interpersonal communication style that is most reflective of his home, township

identity, and which he positions as is his 'authentic' identity ("*I tend to be myself"*), is pathologised on campus (*"seen as weird"*). Importantly, however, he does not see his 'Gugulethu self' as incompatible with a student identity or as something he needs to change. Rather, he suggests he has an advantage over other students whose identities focused only on academics are lacking. Siya may switch between his different spatial identities, talking about his academic life when he is in Gugulethu and bringing *"extroversion and openness"* to the performances of his UCT identity.

These spatialised social practices are communicated to students in various ways. Sometimes this is through campus signage, such as the colour-coded sticker system Unathi described in extract 6.16. At other times these practices, norms and expectations are expressly outlined and documented within institutional policies, as with Lauren's experience of the dress codes on the Medical Campus:

> ***Lauren****: [Room in the Department of Psychology building] I think Med Campus is very rigid. I feel like sometimes people judge each other because it's just a very small space compared to here [Upper Campus]. I feel like you can be yourself on Upper Campus. Med School there are rules. You can't dress a certain way. When my mother went for the parents' orientation, they were like, "Your child is a student in Health Sciences, and they can't have certain piercings". In first year, we had, 'Becoming a Health Professional' and there were two pictures, one doctor with like the perfect look and another doctor with tattoos and stuff. And they were like, "who would you go to?" But for me, people's appearance it doesn't necessarily matter. Because if they have the degree, they have the degree. There's this one lecturer, she always says, like, "mind the colour of your hair" and I'm just like, it doesn't matter!*
>
> (Extract 6.21, focus group)

Most often, however, the norms of behaviour in space are not written into official University regulation – where they may be easier to learn and interpret – but rather are tacitly communicated to students through the subtleties of interactions with other people. Harwood et al. (2018) suggest that spatial practices police students through interpersonal micro-aggressions from the other people on campus: heads turning, silences, looks, comments and whispering. This type of policing was described by participants in this study, such as the looks Esme receives when relaxing with her friends:

> ***Esme**: [Room in the Department of Psychology building] We tried it once [talking and laughing as loudly as she wanted to] and then everyone was looking at us like, "Can't you guys keep quiet?" But we are loud people, we just want to laugh, you know, after say, a stressful day. And then we'll just sit there are we laugh and just make fun of each other. But I do find that some places, you know, where people give you that funny look and, "why are you laughing like that?" Come on! We from the Cape Flats, so, you know?*
>
> (Extract 6.22, focus group)

Another form of policing is the perceived hesitation before eye contact that Aisha and Lubabalo outline:

> ***Lubabalo:** [Room in the Department of Psychology building] You can breathe when you're at Hiddingh. I actually enjoy Hiddingh more than Upper … I think it's just … the people at Hiddingh are just more accepting. Here, on [Upper] campus, mostly you feel you are being policed to some extent and Hiddingh is more of a free space I feel.*
> ***Aisha**: I think one of the differences is people are much less clique-ey, and they go out of their way to greet you. And Upper Campus, policing, it might be, say the minuscule things. It's a hesitation before they make eye contact. They're like quickly, "Where do I put you?" People are quite protective of their personal bubble in most of*

my other classes, in most of the other spaces really … Hiddingh, the drama students are more black, and there's a very different conception of what physical touch is allowed. White space is very much like, "this is my space, and this is your space".

(Extract 6.23, focus group)

As with Siya and Thabo and the judgement they describe above, the policing of modes of being in space relates to broader discourses around race and class. Esme describes a way of being in space – a volume of talking and laughing – which she constructs as particular to the Cape Flats.[53] Esme uses place and geography ("*from the Cape Flats, so, you know?"*) here to signify particular race, class and cultural identities. This particular way of being in space does not fit with the behaviour expected in many places on campus, and thus is met with disapproval and censoring looks. Although Esme does not state it directly, by implication and in comparison, the accepted spatialised practices and norms are underpinned by 'whiteness'. Similarly, in extract 6.23, Aisha and Lubabalo are more direct in linking the policing they experience to the dominance of 'whiteness' within Upper Campus norms. They position Upper Campus as a "white space", and they suggest, for example, that the policing they experience on Upper Campus, is underpinned by understandings of spatial relations which are raced. It is also interesting here to consider the positioning of the Hiddingh Campus – with its historical association with oppression, imprisonment and confinement as outlined in Chapter Four (slave quarters, prisons, zoos) – as a "black space", demonstrating again the many layers-in-tension of the University's spatial palimpsest.

The policing that participants depict in these extracts has direct implications for how students use space on campus. In Siya's descriptions in extracts 6.18 and 6.21 above, for

[53] The Cape Flats are an area of low-lying suburbs in the South East of Cape Town. During apartheid, black residents were forcibly removed to this area under the Groups Areas Act. These suburbs remain largely working-class with majority black residents.

example, policing of his communication style engenders ongoing questioning of his behaviour and identity in space, as he elaborates here:

> ***Siya:*** *[Room in the Department of Psychology building] So, it's sort of like, eish [sighs deeply] being caged, being caged [sighs]. When you do something you have to think twice, "What will people think? Will they say I'm crazy?" So, I haven't been myself lately.*
>
> (Extract 6.24, focus group)

The self-doubt Siya describes here is a form of self-policing, a paralysing self-reflection impacting both his behaviour ("*when you do something you have to think twice"*) and identity construction ("*I haven't been myself lately"*), and engendering a state of double consciousness, which demonstrates how these spatialised social practices and norms may be maintained in places when they are not actively being enforced. Students, however, will respond differently to policing within space. Esme, for example, does not question her behaviour but offers a more resistant response to the experience of policing on campus:

> ***Esme:*** *[Room in the Department of Psychology building] I'm the type of person if you look at me, I will look back at you, whatever you're thinking, you can think it and I will just give you that look and then I'll walk.*
>
> (Continuation of extract 6.25, focus group)

However, spatialised social practices and relations, though often powerful and potent, are not fixed or standard across university space. Different norms are dominant, and other relations are possible, across different campus spaces as well as within the same spaces across time. Many students in the study described how social relations differed across the four University campuses. Participants' experiences of institutional norms on one campus were often constructed in relation to the dominant norms on another campus. Lauren in Extract 6.22 above, for example, described the rigidity and rules of the Health Sciences Campus in

comparison to Upper Campus. Conversely, in extract 6.24 above, Aisha and Lubabalo contrast the openness of the Hiddingh Campus with the policing and insincerity of Upper Campus. Furthermore, students found many ways to challenge dominant spatial regulations on campus, or to create and construct other spaces with alternative norms and to disrupt dominant relations. I will examine this in more detail in Chapter Seven.

6.4 Discussion: "The Vibe of UCT Space"

Across the three dimensions of spatial memory and material familiarity; campus symbolism; and spatialised social practices and relations, students may experience varying levels of alienation or belonging within space. However, these processes do not work in isolation. These three dimensions of UCT's geometries of power act in combination to influence the construction of student identities and students' affective experiences of campus space, and, I would argue, to engender a particular kind of institutional culture on campus. Institutional cultures operate in part through "the material life of the institution" (Vincent, 2015, p. 38). Students' everyday experience in space on campus, this institutional culture, and the broader impact of these three spatial dimensions in combination, can be understood through Durrheim et al.'s (2013) interpretation of the analytical concept of 'the vibe'. 'The vibe' is a common-sense concept that expresses how people experience and participate in everyday space (Durrheim et al., 2013). The vibe of a place is co-constituted through the dimensions I have discussed above – how people are located within the city in relation to campus; the organisation and design of space; and the practices and relations between people in space – which collectively produce "particular affective states and forms of subjectivity" (p. 53). The vibe regulates participation and behaviour in space and "acts as a normative framework against which deviation is accountable" (p. 56). Some students, when the vibe of a place on campus may be experienced as inaccessible and incongruent with their particular

intersecting identities, may withdraw from the space, thus preserving the place's dominant character (Durrheim et al., 2013):

> ***Esme:*** *[Room in the Department of Psychology building] But I also feel that certain areas you need to be prim and proper and the other areas you can just be yourself.*
>
> ***Josie****: How do you tell? How do you know?*
>
> ***Esme****: It's just something that, it's just a feeling that you get. It's just that, you just see it, man! The way they look at you-*
>
> ***Megan****: It's just the vibe*
>
> ***Esme****: Ja! The vibe is just different! And if I get that vibe, I'll just look at you, and then I'll walk.*
>
> (Extract 6.26, focus group)

As the three sections above have illustrated, the vibe of places on campus enables a sense of spatialised belonging and inclusion or alienation and exclusion, which are raced, classed and gendered. These particular affective potentialities that places offer work to channel students' subjectivities and behaviours, and are "rendered into discourse", thus linking "affect, thought and action in ways that contribute to the constitution of places and their vibe" (Durrheim et al., 2013, p. 57). In this final section, I examine how these three dimensions of the institutional geometries come together and are rendered through the various modalities in some of the participants' photo-stories. The first photo-story I examine here, by Zoliswa, is titled "A Journey through Space".

Figure 49*: Zoliswa's photo-story*

Caption: My journey at this institution has been riddled with metaphors that tried to capture my existence but never really could. My existence could never be captured in a space that actively sought to exclude me. Maybe not intentionally but it did. I looked over it, from above it but I still couldn't resonate with it

Figure 50*: Zoliswa's photo-story*

Caption: It is riddled with pathways that are meant to lead to something

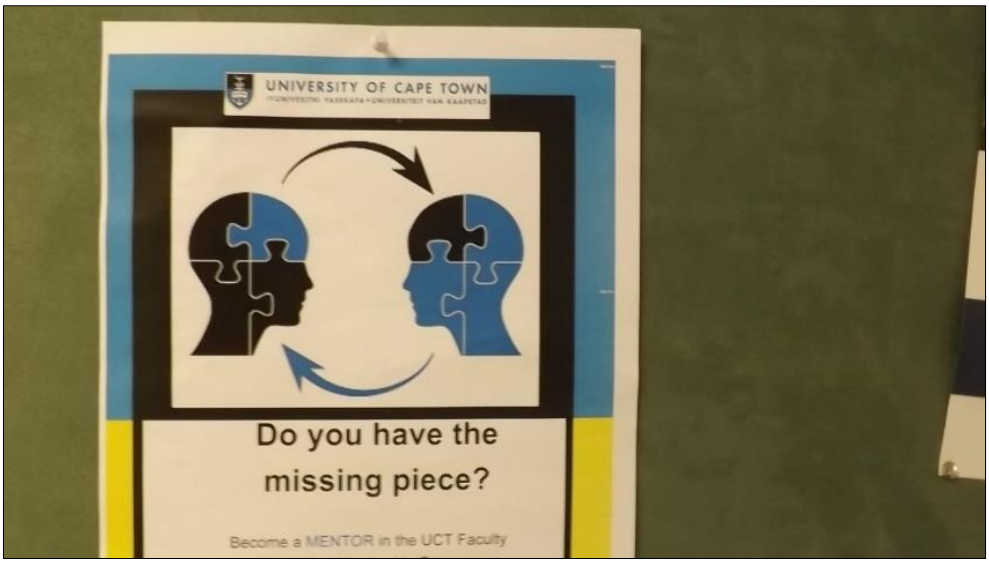

Figure 51*: Zoliswa's photo-story*

Caption: Can you crack the code?

Figure 52: *Zoliswa's photo-story*

Caption: My rural mind couldn't…

Figure 53: *Zoliswa's photo-story*

Caption: So, I retreated behind closed doors, to my space of comfort. My little home…

In this photo-story, Zoliswa documents both her physical and symbolic journey through UCT. Across the various modalities she uses to tell her story, she switches continually between literal and metaphorical conceptions of university space. She starts the story by outlining textually the total disjunction between her identity and that of the University ("*My existence could never be captured in a space that actively sought to exclude me" "I looked over it, from above it but I still couldn't resonate with it"*), she visually represents her textual construction of this alienation with her first self-portrait (Figure 49), depicting the back of her head as she looks out over Main Campus and the city. Notably, this photograph is taken from Rhodes Memorial, a site which allows Rhodes a "looming presence over Cape Town" (Maylam, 2002, p. 114), looking out over UCT as Rhodes does (or did, before his recent beheading), she – as many of the other participants have outlined – fails to see herself within the institution. Her narrative follows a journey towards campus, with the next stage of her story depicting spaces *on* campus. She uses photographs of a series of empty pathways (one of which is rotated onto its side) (Figure 50), to show UCT's 'vibe' and symbolically represent a sense of displacement and isolation. This affective state is foregrounded through

the repetition of the dead-end pathways, the lack of any subjects and the tight, claustrophobic framing of the photographs.

Zoliswa textually alludes to the regulatory norms discussed above in her direct question "*Can you crack the code?*" (Figure 51). Her struggle to navigate these norms she connects to a spatialised identity (*"my rural mind couldn't"*), and again – as discussed in the earlier section on proximity – the raced and classed geographical distance between her home in the rural areas, her mind and UCT. In her second self-portrait (Figure 52) she places herself in one of the many pathways, visually depicting the alienation she textually references through the blurring of her face[54], the shallow depth of field, her indirect gaze off to the side of the frame, and her visible earphones isolating her from the story's audience. Space in this photo-story slides again from symbolic to material where her construction of her affective experience of alienation, the dislocation between her "rural identity" and potential "student identity" engendered through the institutional vibe, finds expression in her physical, material use of space on campus. She documents her subsequent withdrawal into a 'home' place on campus she constructs for herself (Figure 53). There is a tension evident here between agency, exclusion, and power: she constructs this movement in space textually as a "retreat behind closed doors", but it is evident from the photographs that her "space of retreat" is a student faculty office where she holds a leadership position. She retreats from campus, minimises her use of space, but does this *into* her own office and within her role as a student leader with relative agentic power[55].

Aisha, in one of her photo-stories, offers a similar reflection on the vibe of campus space and the interplay between the different dimensions of the institutional power geometries. Her photo-story is titled "Car", which she captions with a quote:

[54]I have further blurred her face to ensure her anonymity; however, even in the uncensored version of this photograph Zoliswa's face is out of focus.
[55] I will explore the second half of her story, and her use of space on campus, in much more detail in the following chapter which focuses on the spaces students make on campus.

Figure 54: *Aisha's photo-story*

Caption: I've crossed some kind of invisible line. I feel as if I've come to a place I never thought I'd have to come to. And I don't know how I got here. It's a place where a little harmless dreaming and then some sleepy, early-morning talk has led me into considerations of death and annihilation – Raymond Carver

Unlike Zoliswa, whose bildungsroman-esque photo-story charts her journey at UCT, Aisha comments more broadly on the experiences of students like her. Her photograph is simultaneously a portrait of other students and a self-portrait. Aisha in the act of taking the photograph is partly visible in the reflection of the car window. Her reflection is layered over the two other subjects in the picture, alluding to the coherences and solidarity between herself and the other students she portrays here. Her photograph depicts two UCT students in a

moment of waiting, slouched, heads resting, eyes partially shut. She uses the text of a found quote as a caption to co-construct the affect of this ordinary, everyday moment – waiting in the back of a hot car – shot through with deeper isolation and despair ("*It's a place where a little harmless dreaming and then some sleepy, early-morning talk has led me into considerations of death and annihilation"*). In her follow-up interview, Aisha explained that she wanted to capture the "weight" of this particular student experience in space and the subsequent influence on student identities:

> ***Aisha****: [Sitting in the Baxter Theatre coffee shop] A lot of weariness, fragments of UCT where you can feel weight, I think that scene encapsulated that. It was another very hot afternoon. So, I mean it was probably simply they were tired but obviously I read a bit more into that.*
>
> ***Josie****: What is that weight?*
>
> ***Aisha****: Navigating a space you're not used to, not grown up to, to feel that that's your inheritance … you're always evaluating your own actions. You're always observing a lot more. It's like when you start a work environment even if the work's quite easy you tend to come home the first few days exhausted because you are absorbing so much new information. I think that's the experience but over an extended amount of time, because you need to prove that you have a right to exist in certain spaces. I think any failure then becomes not just a personal failure but a much more existential one, where your identity is in question and not just your performance. So, that's part of the weight. Also, her necklace is just great!*
>
> (Extract 6.27, follow-up interview)

I would argue that this "weight" is the vibe engendered through the various dimensions of UCT's geometries of power. She describes the weight as encompassing the lack of familiarity with UCT ("*you are absorbing so much new information" "Navigating a space you're*

not used to, not grown up to"), the policing and in turn self-policing ("*you're always evaluating your own actions"*), and ultimately, the tensions and conflict within the construction of a student identity. Aisha suggests here that the student identity she performs on campus is not only a personal one but represents other students from similar intersecting identities, namely "kids of colour" (as she describes in extract 6.15) ("*failure then becomes not just a personal failure but a much more existential one, where your identity is in question and not just your performance"*). This perhaps accounts for her decision to take this partial self-portrait overlaid onto the images of other black students. Had the window been fully wound up, her face would have completed the triptych.

6.5. Conclusion and Chapter Summary

This chapter has reflected on the various ways in which campus space can be "a resource and medium of power" (Robertson, 2010, p. 24) in daily campus life. To understand institutional power dynamics and processes of exclusion and inclusion, it is necessary to consider the space in which campus life unfolds. In this chapter, I have explored three specific dimensions of the institutional power geometries that influence students' affective experience and identity construction in campus space, and how these dimensions act together to engender the vibe of the University. This analysis has highlighted the importance, when seeking a nuanced and contextually-sensitive understanding of the ongoing transformation process, of considering the university's location within the city and the colonial and apartheid spatial legacy; its architecture and design, artwork, statues, monuments, and building names; and the spatialised norms and social practices occurring across campus.

Chapters Five and Six have offered some consideration of what students *do* in space, and in the chapter to follow I examine in more detail how students might adapt to, navigate

through, create and change campus spaces and places, within the context of the institutional vibe described in this chapter.

Chapter Seven: An Institution in Flux - Using Space and Making Place at UCT

The previous two chapters have examined the identities that students construct for campus space and, relatedly, the interlocking power geometries and 'campus vibe' that influence their affective experiences and identities on campus. After these considerations of the mutual co-constitution of students' identities and those of the spaces they occupy, it is vital to examine then, what student *do* across, within and through campus spaces. Although elements of this question have been explored in the previous chapters, this chapter examines in more detail how students use, navigate, manage and change campus spaces. Section 4.3.2 of Chapter Four demonstrated how students could be involved in changing space at a policy level, with the transformations to institutional space management policy sparked by the student protests. This chapter focuses on the daily use of space by students at the individual level, and spatial coping strategies students use to negotiate and manage their daily lives on campus, and examines specifically: *anchoring self in place; refuge from space, retreat into place;* and *navigating through space, adapting to place*.

Many of the locations students occupy during the average day on campus is dictated by the timetable planners who divide up the use of campus space into 45-minute time slots. Students have little control over which places their bodies must be located for their bounded lecture periods. Students, of course, exhibit agency in how they make use of and navigate the space within these compulsory locations (see Alexander & Tredoux, 2010 for example, for a detailed examination of the racialised seating patterns in lecture theatres at UCT) or by bunking classes and spending time elsewhere (skipping lectures to instead sit on the Jammie Steps, for example, is jokingly referred to as "attending Jammie 101"). In this chapter, however, I focus on the campus spaces in which students choose to spend time outside of the compulsory but temporary academic learning spaces. These are often, as Dixon and Janks (2018) found in their spatial reading of the Wits School of Education campus, liminal spaces

on campus. To quote the campus Physical Planning Architect: “We’re building a number of new buildings this year. They always feel great, I don’t even worry about them. I worry about the leftovers and the in-between”. Finally, this chapter examines these in-between spaces on campus, exploring how students use space once they have left the confines of their lecture venues, classrooms and laboratories, and what might be further learnt about privilege, exclusion, and student identities from their interaction with these spaces.

7.1 Anchoring the Self in Place

Many participants – in the time they spend on campus outside of class – choose specific places to anchor themselves within the broader cartography of campus. These are places to which they repeatedly return, a location of familiarity from which they negotiate the rest of campus, and places which are inevitably implicated in the constitution of their daily student identities.

Figure 55: *Anna’s photo-story*

Caption: I spend a vast amount of time sitting, talking and interacting within this space. It has become a space for friendship and food, where I meet with most of my friends. It has become an anchor spot for my daily social life.

These places are not constructed in this way from the first time students occupy them; rather, an anchoring identity for these places is generated over time through the repetition of particular trajectories. As Anna says in her photo-story above (Figure 55): "*It <u>has become</u> a space for friendship and food. <u>It has become</u> an anchoring spot*". A key feature of anchoring spaces is the implicit understanding that – under particular time conditions – these places offer the potential for connection with other students, as Ella and Lubabalo assert:

> ***Lubabalo*****:** *Where I spend most of my time? A friend of mine works at the Sci. Lab. Somehow, me and my friends always just end up there. People come in, you say hi, you talk to people but then they leave and you're still in like a small, intimate group.*
>
> (Extract 7.1, focus group)

> ***Ella****: I'd say we're kind of oddballs [laughs] but we all have around fourth period free. So, we just chill there and talk, or work … It's very nice for students who are too busy to go out or have friends after campus hours to have a period or an area where you know you'll always find someone there to have contact with because not having contact with people makes you feel even more lonely.*
>
> (Extract 7.2, focus group)

These are places premised on an often largely unspoken agreement between groups of students of habitual and repeated connection (*"Somehow, me and my friends always just end up there";* "*an area where you know you'll always find someone there"*). Students' use of space in this way is thus deeply connected to time. For example, Ella's naming of her anchoring place is inseparable from the period in which the space is used:

> ***Josie****: What spaces in campus do you spend the most time in and why?*
>
> ***Ella****: Otto Beit lobby, fourth period.*
>
> (Extract 7.3, focus group)

These are anchoring places, but of course, only at particular moments, or particular periods throughout the University timetable. Although arguably, these places may retain some of this anchoring identity when empty of friends, a lingering sense of connection and positive affect may permeate students' experiences of these places at other times. In Anna's photo-story above (Figure 55), for example, she photographs her anchoring space when it is empty of friends, despite the salience of this place in her social life. This may simply have been the time it was convenient for Anna to take this photograph but hints that Anna has some nostalgic connection to this place even when her friends are absent from it.

The choice of these anchoring places is often pragmatic and rooted in students' practical spatial needs, mediated through their intersecting identities. Ella, for example, as a wheelchair user, selected her anchoring place partly based on its proximity to the lift she needs to access the other levels of the campus and most crucially to a bathroom that she can use easily:

> ***Josie**: Why do you like this space? [the Otto Beit lobby she spends time in with friends]*
>
> ***Ella:** Well, it's on one of my routes 'cause like the lift is here behind … I just saw that some of the people I knew were sitting here so I just kind of joined in … But I also like it because the accessible toilets are not always clean, especially in John Day because it's the first toilet in the door … So everyone just uses the first bathroom[56] [the accessible toilet] … So, the nice thing is that because there's friends here I can drop*

[56]Another potential reason for this bathroom being used frequently by students who are not wheelchair users is that it is one of the few toilets on campus designated as 'gender-neutral'. A lack of gender-neutral bathrooms on campus has been raised as a serious concern by students in some of the previous research I have conducted (e.g. Cornell et al., 2016).

my stuff with them and just go to the normal bathroom, because it's quite a large one for a normal bathroom.

(Extract 7.4, roving interview)

This was particularly important to Ella, because the design and function of the accessible bathrooms on campus are often frustrating:

***Ella**: You know what frustrates us more? The bathroom designs … it's very efficient to put that self-closing spring on the door but it means we have to fight the door to get in or out which is really tricky. And also … Just because it looks big doesn't mean the shape is actually right for the chair. And what would be nice is a book bag hook. Normally we just look who's sitting around working and ask, "Hey, can you look after my books?" Dump them there and just go … because I can't pick up stuff from the floor.*

(Extract 7.5, focus group)

Figure 56: *Ella's photo-story*

Caption: Why are the disabled bathrooms so un-uniform???? Size of room, layouts, heights of rails, setup of bins, type of basin and tap. Can we even flush the toilet? FYI please always clean the surfaces such as seat, rails, basin edges if they are wet/dirty. As a mobility-impaired person, we have to use those surfaces as leverage and would like not to wonder who did what where and left this suspicious substance drops there… remember we don't have free time between back to back lectures so this stop is already making us late…having to clean up your mess first takes longer.

However, students' motivation for utilising particular anchoring places is equally based on familiarity born through routine. Nick and James, for example, consistently meet with their friends on a section of lawn on the same side of the Jameson Plaza, despite the comparative and acknowledged material advantages of the lawn on the opposite side:

> ***Josie****: I'm just going to say for the recording that we're going down Jammie Steps, we're kind of above Smuts and Fuller but aligned with-*
>
> ***Nick****: Maths Building, by the light*
>
> ***James****: We'll sit in this little alcove here*
>
> ***Josie****: And never that side?*
>
> ***James****: Strangely no, actually.*

***Josie**: Is there a reason?*

***James**: I think it's just because these trees give more shade than those trees usually.*

***Nick**: But there is shade there usually, lots of kids picnic on the grass there.*

***James**: That side's actually nicer because that grass is luscious. This grass is actually kind of dead. We just sit on the railing.*

***Josie**: In many ways that side would be much nicer?*

***James**: It would be. I actually said to my friends we should actually sit over there where those guys are sitting.*

***Josie:** And did they agree with you?*

***James**: No, they didn't want to move but I was quite adamant because it's quite annoying when there's just dust and cigarette butts everywhere.*

***Josie:** Why didn't they want to move?*

***James:** I think they were just used to it [pauses] but it is very dusty!*

(Extract 7.6, roving interview)

Nick and James persistently anchor themselves in a place which they experience as physically uncomfortable. The grass is dead and littered with cigarette butts, forcing them to perch awkwardly on the railing. Their friend Anthony, who meets with them here, also brought me to this location in his roving interview and demonstrated an identical uneasy railing lean. For this group of friends, the importance of this place in their campus experience is not predicated on what it might offer them materially – as was partly the case with Ella – but rather what this place has come to mean symbolically in the narratives of their student experience. The dusty patch of lawn, firmly etched in their University time-paths, is perhaps irrevocably connected to the process of constituting the identity of their friendship group and thus seemingly resistant to the abandonment of its anchoring role. As Hopkins and Dixon (2005) suggest, "people may feel attached to a particular place not only because of the

meanings associated with the location itself, but also because of their ability to 'be themselves' when there" (p. 181). This is, I think, the ultimate value that students derive from the anchoring spaces that they seek out. As Lucy described in her online survey answer:

> ***Lucy:*** *I begin almost every day by running on the UCT cricket oval on Middle Campus. I love this place for its sense of safety and familiarity, the way it is repetitive but also never an identical task … These places feel like places I can visit often, get to know well, and incorporate in my own personal narrative. I feel like I am anonymous in the vaster thoroughfares of UCT and in huge lecture theatres, which is good and necessary sometimes, but these places are ones that I can belong in as Lucy.*
>
> (Extract 7.7, online survey)

In the face of the myriad of campus spaces students must navigate and the ever-growing student population, anchoring spaces function to ground and allow the performance of particular student identities. Students require places in which they can take some degree of ownership over space (Harwood et al., 2018) to enable the construction and performance of the identities they feel most coherently reflect their desired student identity. For some students, like Ella, physical elements of the space may be crucial for this sense of ownership and agency – for example, a place that allows Ella to use the bathroom with ease. For other students like Nick, James and Anthony, the physical elements of the space are secondary and the material deficits are seemingly overridden by affective attachment. Overall, these places come to represent and serve as a reference point by which students may navigate the rest of the campus. If students may 'be themselves' in at least some places on campus, they may move out of their anchoring places but maintain an affirming identity.

7.2. Refuge from Space and Retreat into Place

For other students, the places in which they may 'be themselves' are not public places on campus in which they might anchor their identities and thus begin to assert an agency over broader campus space, but rather refuge spaces which act as a retreat from the spatial dynamics of wider campus. These places are more closely bounded and typically more peripheral than anchoring spaces (Harwood et al., 2018). These places are predicated in part on attempted escape from the intersecting power geometries and campus vibe discussed in the previous chapter. In the participants' experiences, the creation of places of retreat is premised on an affective state of refuge through the avoidance of specific places; connection to others in place; and connection to places of nature.

7.2.1 Avoiding the Campus 'Vibe'

For some participants, decisions on which places to occupy outside of classes are premised on seeking escape from other places, rather than on the familiarity or material practicalities a particular place may offer in itself. Mapula, for example, describes how she intentionally chooses to spend time in hidden places on campus to avoid the overwhelming sense of privilege that permeates many other places on campus. Privilege in this extract relates most directly to class; however, although Mapula does not explicitly state it here, as a 'mixed-race' student as per her own self-description, there is undoubtedly an element of racialised exclusion evident in her experience discussed below:

> ***Mapula****: I spend most of my time in places where I'm not really seen because I do know quite a few people on campus and I'm playing an avoiding game. So, I'm always in tiny little corners where you won't see me. Just the simple act of like walking on campus, it's just like, "I don't want to do this" … Because I went to a private school, so I was around a privileged space … I think in some ways I am*

privileged, I thought I could handle this, but this is like some whole other ball game. Like in first-year I just shut off, I hid in my shell. It was overwhelming. I thought I could go into this space because I've been around these types of people. But now it's just a whole new level of privilege and I didn't know how to feel comfortable in this type of space … I pushed myself away from it. My way of making myself feel comfortable was avoiding it … I think for the whole of first yearI avoided the caf' [cafeteria]. I did not walk past there because I knew there was like a certain type of people that were there. Because I used to associate myself with those people, but once I got here because they were around more people who experienced a certain type of, let's say price brackets as them, so I couldn't feel comfortable around those people as much as I could in school because I think school kind of grounded it.

(Extract 7.8, focus group)

Mapula's avoidance of the overwhelming affluence of places like the cafeteria mirrors in some ways Zoliswa's avoidance of the Jameson Plaza, as depicted on her reflective map (see Figure 42) and discussed in Chapter Five. Zoliswa's alienation from the Plaza, however, is underpinned in part by her deeply rooted unfamiliarity with the contours of this institution which is – as she draws on her map – some "1000 miles" away from her home in the rural areas. For Mapula, the privileged 'vibe' of the cafeteria is a recognisable and ubiquitous element of her educational experience, echoing the vibe and dominant institutional culture at her wealthy private, predominantly white high school just down the road from UCT. Much like Nick, James and Anthony (as discussed in the previous chapters), Mapula finds this place institutionally familiar due to resonant schooling experiences and a parent who attended UCT. Mapula, however, experiences an othering, ambivalent familiarity heightened by elements of the University setting from which she withdraws, and not (as with many white students who also come from private and former Model C schools) a comforting familiarity.

Mapula's reflection here demonstrates again how alienation is deeply spatialised. The 'vibe' of the cafeteria space, with its class – and likely race – exclusions, directly results in certain students, like Mapula, taking up less space on campus and seeking, literally, to diminish their presence on campus ("*I'm always in tiny little corners where you won't see me"*). There is agency to an extent in this spatialised coping strategy of avoidance Mapula uses here. Mapula herself refers to her use of space in this way as "*playing an avoiding game".* As such, her avoidance is a strategic tactic employed to survive painful affective experiences on campus. However, as Durrheim et al. (2013) suggest, this avoidance of particular places leaves unchanged the dominant character of such places. Furthermore, Mapula's literal and figurative diminishment of herself within broader campus space raises questions about the types of student identities she can construct and enact.

7.2.2 Connecting to Others in Place

While the use of space discussed in the section above is premised entirely on avoidance, students also sought to create other spaces of retreat in which different power geometries might be expressed and alternative identities enacted. Much like anchoring spaces, these refuge spaces are generated through the connection to others *in place*. Residences, in particular, were often used as sanctuaries in which to connect to friends in a way that some students found difficult on the university campuses. Both Zoliswa and Thabo, for example, like Amanda in Chapter Five, describe the comfort and ease with which they connected with other people in residence and constructed residences as places in which they feel at home:

> ***Zoliswa:*** *But in res, I had friends [versus feeling invisible and detached on Upper campus]. I was like the residence psychologist [laughter] slash mother slash sister slash the go-to person for tea. So, there I felt more at home and I felt like I had some*

kind of position so I mattered in a way … the difference between campus and res is that in res there is room for interaction … But then on campus, the minute I set foot, just the rush of everything, people are just rushing everywhere, going to class, lecture, lecture, done, bye!? [smacks hands together in emphasis]. So, there is no acknowledgement of your existence, so in this huge institution, you feel like a seed. You're just a pellet, right? And I was consumed by it.

(Extract 7.9, focus group)

Thabo: *So that has changed a lot [not fitting in because of his accent – see Extract 6.19 for the first half of this extract] because I found, I'm going to call it closure, in friends in res. I actually managed to make new friends in res, which I don't usually … I feel a lot more at home when I am at res than when I am at campus. Because at campus I think that … it's just fast-paced. Res is sort of like a closed space where you see the same people every day. So that's where I get to express my extroversion. I get to talk, I love talking, just talk, talk, talk … Coming to campus I'm not expressing myself to the fullest … I'm going to be more focused on work. Work, work, work!*

(Extract 7.10, focus group)

For both of these students, the residence spaces enabled a recognition of other facets of their identity which mediated the alienation and invisibility they experienced on Upper Campus ("*I felt like I had some kind of position so I mattered"*). Within their residences, these students could embody other identities beyond a narrow, purely academic student identity, such as that of "friend", "go-to person for tea" or "extrovert". The sense of acknowledgement of nuanced multi-dimensional student identities and the experience of 'being known' by others on campus is vital for enabling agentic ownership over space and a sense of belonging that is lacking for these students on Upper Campus ("*Coming to campus I'm not expressing myself*

to the fullest"). These residence spaces thus offer the potential for self-expression which is – to an extent – free from the intersecting campus power geometries.

In addition to the connection to friends and other people on campus, students also sought places of refuge in which they could nurture spiritual connection – often with and through other people. In Anele's reflective map, for example, he associates his residence on Lower Campus with spirituality and discursively constructs it as a place of prayer, labelling it as a "praying house", whereas Middle and Upper Campus are exclusively framed as places of study:

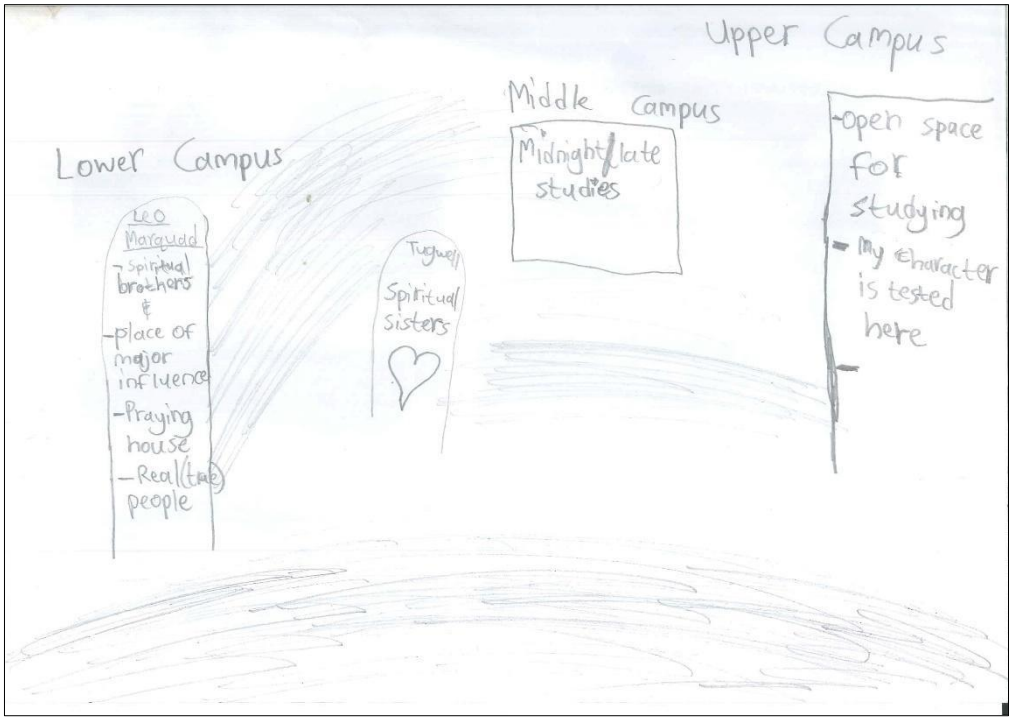

Figure 57*: Anele's reflective map*

The spiritual dimensions of his identity which are neglected on Upper Campus are fostered in these spaces, and thus the residence is central to the co-constitution of an affirming student identity ("*place of major influence*"). Close, familial ("*spiritual brothers/spiritual sisters*") and authentic (*"real (true) people"*) subject positions are created for the other students in his residence. In contrast to the authenticity and influence he ascribes to the Lower Campus

residence spaces in this map, Upper Campus is constructed as a place that undermines his 'true identity' ("*my character is tested here*"). Anele's 'student identity' is thus geographically fractured, with his 'spiritual identity' constituted in residence spaces and an 'academic identity' located on Upper and Middle Campus. For Anele, these two particular identities may be broadly incompatible but he abandons neither and finds places on campus in which enactments of both are possible. Arguably, this fracturing occurs because of the alienating Upper Campus 'vibe' discussed in Chapter Six. As he further reflected in the focus group:

> ***Anele**: I think maybe my mind is fixated that Upper Campus is for studying and just coming to lectures and afterwards I'm done with this place I don't want to be here.*
>
> ***Josie**: Why don't you want to be here?*
>
> ***Anele**: Ummm, not a comfortable space to be in considering like transformation and all that. I really don't feel like university space, it's not welcoming to me specifically. But we try our best to avoid the voice inside that says "This is not a space for you". You just force your way in and then be like, "Ok let me go back to res". So in res, I feel chilled because I get to have my own space. I can sit in my room in quiet and just think about myself … I can't go up there [Upper Campus]. I want to just be here. I feel like I'm just this working child right now*
>
> (Extract 7.11, focus group)

This extract demonstrates that Anele has to an extent internalised the exclusionary elements of the campus vibe to the point that he views these as a "voice inside" himself, rather than a culture endemic to UCT and education systems more broadly. He switches here between an individualistic and systemic understanding of the marginalisation he feels in certain campus spaces (see Rucker & Richeson, forthcoming), first characterising the space as unwelcoming for "me specifically", but changing to a group framing of his response ("*we try our best to*

avoid"). Importantly, despite his experiences of alienation on campus, he still attempts to take up space there ("*you just force your way in*"). Thus, he also displays a critical consciousness of this process of internalisation by making an active decision to ignore these voices in his choice to force his way into the space. Anele can succeed in the academic spaces of Upper and Middle Campus and occupy a form of 'academic identity', and refers to himself as a "working child". However, he requires the residence spaces of retreat to mediate, through spiritual connection and time with friends, the emotional labour required when locating one's body in a space of alienating power geometries. These refuge spaces can be considered a form of counterspace (see Harwood et al. 2018), which, research suggests, are often "initiated by students of color to provide temporary relief from the rest of the campus and to allow for counterstories, asserting that they, too, belong on campus" (p. 10).

Zoliswa's photo-story offers a similar intersection of connection, through both spirituality and other people. While Anele's spirituality is rooted in Christianity, Zoliswa's is derived from connection to her partner as well as her ancestors in her place of retreat, her office on Upper Campus. In the first half of her photo-story (depicted in Figure 53 in Chapter Six), Zoliswa notes that she "retreated behind closed doors, to my space of comfort. My little home". "Home" here refers to the material space of this office, but also importantly, to the presence of her partner within this place (see Figures 58 and 59), and the connection to her ancestors through the snuff tobacco she keeps beside her (Figures 60 and 61).

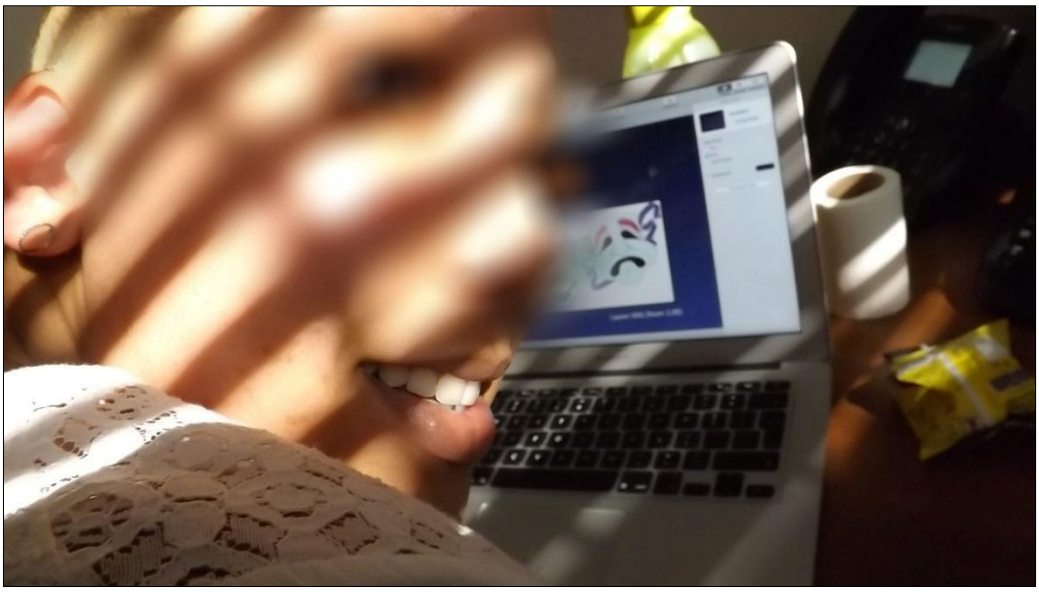

Figure 58: *Zoliswa's photo-story*

Caption: The third frame…She became my home. My ray of sunshine interrupted!

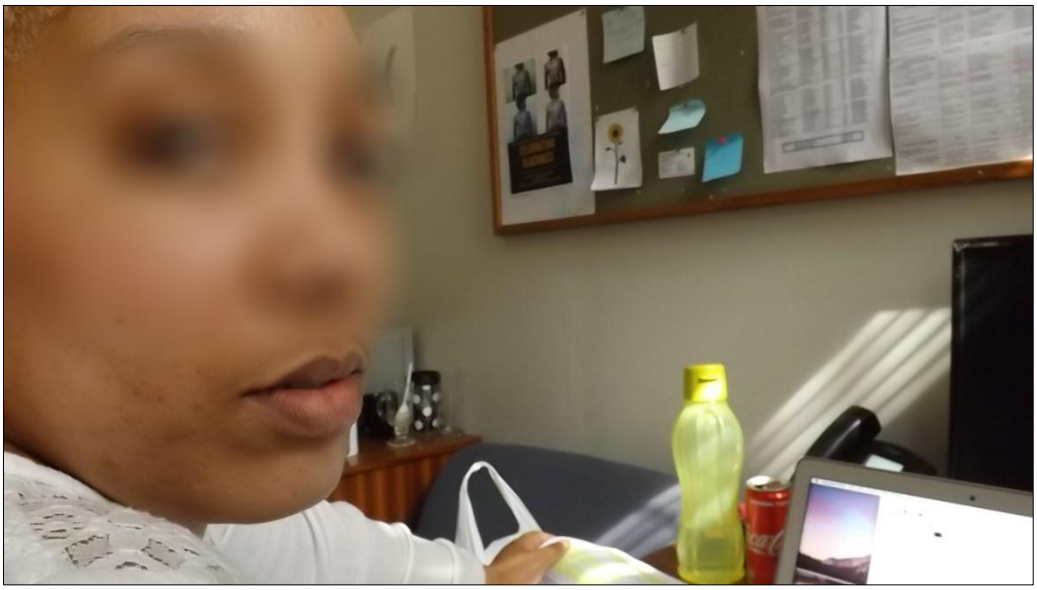

Figure 59: *Zoliswa's photo-story*

Caption: It was the stillness in her eyes that calmed the raging storm within me.

Figure 60: *Zoliswa's photo-story*

Caption: Nabo "gogo" nabo "bomkhulu" makhehla amahle!

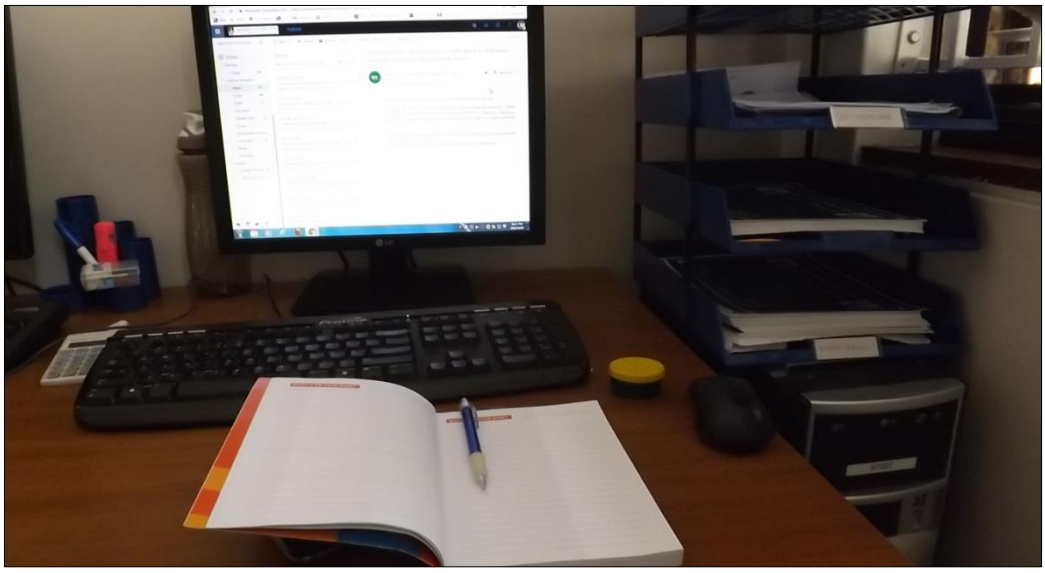

Figure 61: *Zoliswa's photo-story*

Caption: In case you missed it, they are always with me

A sense of home is thus engendered through the combination of the physical dimensions of the office (e.g. her desk, computer and textbook, sunlight through the window, snacks on the desk, pictures on the pinboard), and the connection to people (the location of her partner's body in the room and the spiritual presence of her ancestors symbolically

represented by her snuff tobacco). Unlike Anele, who in some ways splits his identities and enacts his spiritual and academic identities in different places, Zoliswa places the spiritual dimensions of her identity (symbolised in this photo by the container of snuff tobacco) alongside her academic identity performances (represented here by her open textbook and resting pen in Figure 61).

In the last three photographs of her photo-story (Figures 62, 63 and 64), however, Zoliswa depicts herself outside of her office refuge space, performing in a relatively public part of campus an aspect of her identity that she usually confines to the office space:

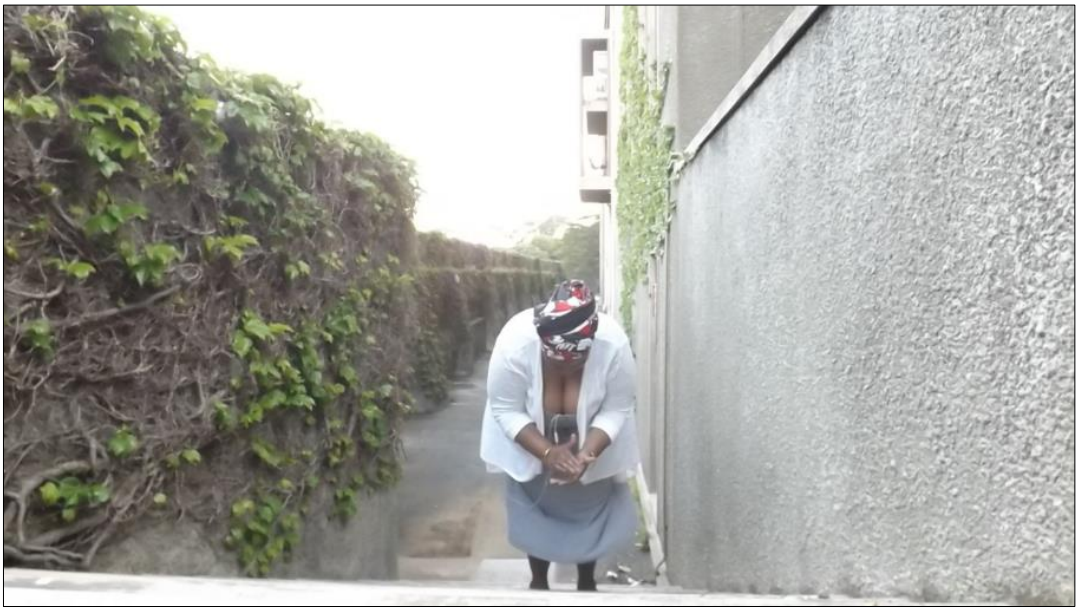

Figure 62: *Zoliswa's photo-story*

Caption: So here I am, pleading my way into this space… I am aware of my strength, the power I possess…I am a rock!...

Much as Anele describes the need to "force your way in", Zoliswa describes "pleading" to powers outside of herself for access into Upper Campus spaces. Although not explicit in her caption, her body language here suggests that she pleads for access with her ancestors rather than UCT powers that be. Thus, although her use of the word "pleading" has some connotations of a request for permission, giving agency to those who grant access, it seems

she gives power to something beyond the institutional structures. Additionally, Zoliswa concludes her caption with a more direct and agentic description of her place on Upper Campus. Her metaphorical suggestion, "I am a rock", is evocative perhaps of the anti-apartheid liberation song associated with the Women's March of 1956, "*Wathint' abafazi! Wathint' abafazi, wathint' imbokodo, uza kufa*!" ["If you strike a woman, you strike a rock, you strike a boulder, you will be crushed!"]. Zoliswa's photo-story here is a nod to a legacy of a gendered identity of resistance and strength of – particularly black – South African women.

However, her penultimate photograph (Figure 63) again references her sense of displacement in most Upper Campus spaces, while simultaneously continuing to evoke an identity of strength represented symbolically through the rock. On the one hand, UCT's ivy-covered wall towers over Zoliswa's rock. We can imagine that this rock is one that has been displaced from the mountain quarries when the campus was built (Calata, 2015). This rock may be misplaced but like many of the stones used to build this campus, and like Zoliswa herself, it is indigenous to and present in this place, taking up prominence in the foreground of this photograph.

Figure 63: *Zoliswa's photo-story*

Caption: Misplaced!

In Zoliswa's final photograph in her photo-story series (Figure 64), she looks at the camera directly, revealing her face for the first time – with unflinchingly direct eye contact.[57] In taking up the entire frame, she represents herself taking up space on campus, outside of her office refuge.

[57] The blurring of these photographs was done by me. The photographs Zoliswa submitted were uncensored, but she later requested that I blur them to preserve the anonymity of her partner.

Figure 64: *Zoliswa's photo-story*

Caption: THOKOZANI!!

Zoliswa and Anele's maps, photo-stories and focus group reflections show the complexities of students' affective experiences on campus and their co-construction of identity and space. A binary understanding of belonging or alienation fails to capture the nuances of students' negotiation with space and place, and their agency in the constitution and creation of other places for themselves.

7.2.3 Connecting to Nature

In addition to finding comfort through connection to other people, many participants seek refuge in the pockets of nature on campus. These places offer students an escape from broader campus space. The peace and relief they engender in students are directly connected to how these spaces may be imagined as elsewhere. In Nicole's photo-story below, for example, she depicts a place on campus which evokes for her an alternative non-UCT "fantasy world" instead of the material reality of institutional space:

Figure 65: *Nicole's photo-story*

Caption: I am reminded of an entrance to a fantasy world. My greatest comfort on campus is nature and areas with minimal people. Around the bend, there is a long stretch of grass that is obscured from public eye. I remember sharing a few laughs and relaxing moments with a friend in this area.

These spaces are sought out for the material dimensions of the environment (e.g. sun, plants, fresh air) but also because unlike many other campus spaces they are typically empty. These elements of the space allow for certain identity performances. Much as Anele constructs his residence as a place that allows for the enactment of a particular kind of 'true' spiritual identity, Maria and Nicole construct places of nature on campus as engendering the enactment of an 'authentic self' by contrast with other places on campus. On Maria's reflective map (see Figure 38, Chapter Five), for example, she documents her reflections on "The Dam": "*a place of solace and reflection. A place where I can be my complete self. A place of escape*". Likewise, on Nicole's reflective map (Figure 40, Chapter Five), her favourite place is described as a place where she can "*renew my energy and my sense of the world*". Zoliswa similarly describes a favourite campus location as "*You know sometimes I just need a lot of sun on those patches of grass. So I just lay there and absorb sunlight like a plant [laughter]*" (extract 7.12, focus group). Zoliswa's metaphorical characterisation of

herself as a plant offers a glimpse at a potentially generative identity, linked to her earlier metaphorical description of herself as a seed (see extract 7.9). Despite Zoliswa's general sense of displacement and being cast adrift, there are places on campus in which her 'identity-seed' might take root and grow.

It is unsurprising then that despite being located on the edges of Upper Campus or tucked away in crevices, these places take up much space on the students' maps and feature prominently in the photo-stories. Although it is geographically located peripherally on Upper Campus, Maria centres the dam on her map. Similarly, Nicole's favourite place is drawn in colour, covering a third of her map, while in reality, it comprises a few square meters. The photo-story she produces of the same place reveals the nostalgic lens through which she views this place. The photograph is incongruous with the drawing she produces (see Figure 40).

Figure 66: *Nicole's photo-story*

Caption: Overlooking my favourite place on campus. My place of escapism and peace.

The brightly coloured drawing of a full green lawn and flowering vines is contrasted photographically with a small patch of dying lawn with some withered vines in the

foreground. This indicates again, as with Nick and James in extract 7.6 above, that beyond the material elements, what endears places on campus to students, is what they come to represent and the potential they offer for the performance of affirming identities (Hopkins & Dixon, 2005). Both Nicole and Maria construct these favourite locations as places of escape through and into nature. These places function as a site of renewal though the elements of nature (e.g. sun, fresh air, green), the quiet, and the lack of other people, giving scope for embodying particular identities. To "be yourself" in some places, for certain times, builds tolerance and mediates the dissonance and alienation of "not being themselves" or "feeling uncomfortable" in other places, at other times.

7.3 Navigating through Space, Adapting to Place

The final section of this chapter examines students' movement through university space and the tactics they employ in their daily navigation of the campus. This section focuses specifically on the data produced by Ella, a wheelchair user. As discussed in Chapter Four, the Disability Unit has worked to improve the accessibility of campus spaces, particularly in recent years, and is considered to be responsive to students' needs (see Dalton et al., 2019). Ella herself characterised her experiences with the Unit as positive. However, UCT, like many university campuses across the world, is innately ableist (Dolmage, 2017). Due to the particular geography of Main Campus which is built into the side of a mountain, and the original neoclassical architecture with its staggered tiers of buildings joined by flights of steep steps, navigating Main Campus requires students with mobility impairment to employ several adaptations and strategies.

In the roving interview, Ella demonstrated a detailed internal cataloguing of doors, lifts, buttons, angles, latches, corners, paving stones, curbs and other micro-materialities of campus space. She has developed multiple ongoing daily workarounds to facilitate her

movement across campus. These include, for example, as she illustrated in the roving interview, using a ruler or pencil to reach the buttons in the lift in the Department of Psychology which is too high for her to reach from the seated position in her wheelchair and which must be held in for the lift to move; and memorising the emergency number for the lifts in the RW James building which frequently get stuck.

Ella documents some of these adaptations in her photo-stories. She records, for example, how if a lift in either the AC Jordan Building or the Beattie Building is broken, she may still access the other building through the bypass ground-level corridor:

Figure 67: *Ella's photo-story*

Caption: Bypass corridor between Beattie ground level and AC Jordan ground, aka what you use when either one has a broken lift.

When I asked Ella how she figured out the routes and various workarounds needed to move from one side of Upper Campus to the other, she reflected that she gained this knowledge through her lived experience of the campus and daily problem-solving in the face of

unexpected changes in the material environment, rather than through the formal campus orientation:

> ***Josie****: How long did it take you to figure it all out? Did they [The Disability Unit] give you a tour?*
>
> ***Ella****: Well, they gave us a tour of the accessible buildings with some suggestions of routes, but mostly we kind of figure it out ourselves, through the map or through telling each other our routes. Some of the shortcuts, the Unit [the Disability Unit] didn't even know about until it was raining or there was construction and we told each other, "Oh, this is my shortcut". We have a WhatsApp group for the wheelchair users. So, we can see when someone reports a lift that's not working.*
>
> (Extract 7.13, focus group)

An important aspect of the development of this deep material knowledge of campus is the experience of solidarity and support with other students who are wheelchair users. As Ella illustrates here, the students themselves are often more aware of the details of the campus space than the Disability Unit, and they use a WhatsApp group to share the exhaustive details of campus space gained through this ongoing, everyday use of campus.

However, Ella's experiences which require the consistent invention of adaptations in the performance of everyday student activities (e.g. going to class, going to the bathroom) reflect Dolmage's (2017) assertion that academic buildings "very literally" construct disabled identities for the students that use them. Viewed through the social model of disability (see Oliver, 1990) and a critical disability theory lens, disability is seen as a socially constructed relationship between non-inclusive, ableist structures and environments, impairment, and an individual's response (Hosking, 2008). Ella's difficulty in accessing her lecture venues, tutorial rooms, bathrooms and so on – and thus the disabled student identity implicated in that difficulty – is directly constituted through aspects of the campus architecture. We see, once

again, how Solomon and his colleagues' design, in this case the reliance on steep steps and staggered terraces, is premised on the idea of a particular 'ideal' UCT student, which has implications for the other types of bodies that might try to construct a student identity within this space. These are, as Dolamge (2017) suggests, the "power dynamics around how college campuses disable" (p. 55) and are another dimension of the power geometries discussed in the previous chapter.

Although Ella can, through these various adaptations, mostly navigate campus space and succeed as a UCT student, she can never completely relax into reliance on these adaptations. Ella can find, develop, and memorise these workarounds, but she is frequently met with unanticipated ableist design features implicit within the campus space. She documents in another photo-story, for example, how the bypass corridor she uses for access to either Beattie Building or AC Jordan when the lifts are broken (see Figure 67) may sometimes be inaccessible if the door is locked. The door is latched at a height that Ella cannot reach from her wheelchair:

Figure 68: *Ella's photo-story*

Caption: For AC Jordan access to Beattie, only when not locked. Only tall people can unlatch the door.

Additionally, there are certain places in which the physical design is such that they remain inaccessible to Ella. The Main Library on Upper Campus, for example, which is arguably fundamental to the student experience, is difficult to access despite the adaptations Ella attempts. Ella describes how library access for students who are wheelchair users is particularly laborious and thus she generally avoids this space:

> *The Library I can only get into one way … I need to get to the Cissie Gool Level but I can get to that level from the Otto Beit-Molly Blackburn lifts and then I go up another lift to the entrance area of the Library, and then up another lift, and then I'm only in the Library proper. So, if one of those lifts are broken apparently there's a fire exit somewhere, but you have to get the staff to help you out. You can literally get stuck in the Library. So, I tend not to use it too often because I've seen on the WhatsApp group that some of the others have got stuck quite often.*
>
> (Extract 7.14, roving interview)

Despite Ella's agentic engagement with the spaces of campus, the innately ableist campus design works to construct a particular experience of campus space, and thus type of student identity, as Ella reflects in her photo-story below. This is in some ways related to the more practical daily student experiences, such as using the library or arriving quickly to classes, but as Ella documents here, it also reflects less tangible but equally important aspects of the student experience on campus, such as viewing campus artwork or seeing the view:

Figure 69: *Ella's photo-story*

Caption: Routes of mystery. Oh, what view do you see? What sculptures are hidden from me? How much shorter is your journey? Do you enjoy the carefree stroll to class? Using one of dozens of routes that's most convenient to you and whichever cafeteria or bathroom you desire to go past???

In this story, Ella addresses an imagined audience of students for whom UCT buildings do not construct a disabled identity. Several of Ella's photo-stories are directly addressed to an imagined fellow student. A central element influencing Ella's navigation through campus is the influence on the environment of other bodies in this space. As Dolmage (2017) suggests, although "academia exhibits and perpetuates a form of structural ableism" (p. 53), this ableism requires agents. Other people on campus may interact with the campus space in a way that advances or hinders Ella's movement through it. As she consistently highlighted throughout the roving interview, this can include, for example, people taking the lifts when they do not need them, construction workers leaving rubble in the path of ramps, people closing access doors that should be left open, not reporting broken lifts, or parking in front of ramps. As Ella reflected in her roving interview:

> ***Ella****: People tend to park in front of this ramp [ramp at the top of campus behind the Steve Biko building]*

***Josie**: So, what do you do then?*

***Ella**: Take a photo of them*

***Josie**: Do you ever interact with people who park there?*

***Esna**: Oh ja [yes], and they'll be like, "It'll just be quick!" Or, "Sorry". It gets quite annoying because just by blocking that one spot I cannot get from this parking to the whole other half of the campus. I would need to go down PD Hahn to Cissie Gool, Cissie Gool to Molly Blackburn, Molly Blackburn to Otto Beit and then the whole University Avenue length.*

(Extract 7.15, roving interview)

Most of Ella's photo-stories involved a direct 'talking back' to the actors of ableism on campus. Ella produced, for example, a number of photo-stories in which she documents how people frequently block her routes on campus:

***Figure 70**: Ella's photo-story*

Caption: Nice, parking in front of fire hydrant and somehow not getting a fine. Often people do this and also manage to block the ramp from the road to sidewalk as well. I've been stranded on the road area for 20min before someone tracked the owner of a vehicle down…missed a class and he moved so got not fine at all…

Figure 71*: Ella's photo-story*

Caption: The visibility of this parking marker seems like an accurate metaphor for the amount of people that respect the parking rules and don't make life harder by making us late/miss class due to blocked routes (ramps are there to look pretty?) or force us to use routes in ways that put our health at risk … Thanks…I love that I with a muscle disease that literally lose muscle mass daily…am forced to strain my back and shoulders to such an extent daily that I actually have biceps… this just means I have stronger muscles pulling my back into spasms and knots. Yay.

In these photo-stories, when Ella directly, emotively, and somewhat sarcastically, addresses an imagined University audience to catalogue their performances of ableism, she makes ableism – which is so often invisible and implicit, and from which the University and many of the bodies within it distance themselves – explicitly visible. She uses vivid descriptions of her bodily experience of their ableist actions and a cutting tone in her writing. This serves, I would argue, to prevent people from brushing off her experience or underplaying the implications of their actions, as in the *"It'll just be quick!"* defence for parking in a disabled bay that she describes in extract 7.15. Ella directly and uncompromisingly highlights the role that students and staff frequently play – along with the material campus environment – in the co-constitution of disabled identities on campus. The focus in these stories on the actions of *other people* in upholding ableism on campus is an important aspect of dismantling the innate

ableism on campus. As Dolmage (2017) suggests, "when disability is seen as something 'suffered' by a very few, and otherwise invisible and nonpresent, then disability can never change the culture of higher education" (p. 93). This emphasis on the construction of disability by institutions themselves contrasts with the dominant medical discourse of disability that emphasises individual deficit (Fulcher, 1989), locates the 'problem' of disability within the student as opposed to the institution (Howell & Lazarus, 2003), and "reinforces an ambient environment of ableism" (Smith et al., 2019, p. 2). To focus only on disabl*ed* student identities rather than on disabl*ing* academic buildings risks depoliticising debates around accessibility, lets the institution off the hook, and places the burden of adaptation and assimilation on students themselves (Howell & Lazarus, 2003).

Although the adaptations Ella makes in her daily use of campus, and the resistances she presents in her photo-stories, are an important aspect of her agentic use of campus space and the development of her affirming student identity, this inevitably comes with an affective cost (Dolamge, 2017; Howell & Lazarus, 2003). Constantly seeking accommodations into space can result in "access fatigue" (see Konrad, 2016), which Konrad defines as "being plain sick of having to ask for access" (para. 14). The effort Ella expends in her – albeit successful – navigation of campus inevitably takes time away from other academic pursuits and everyday student experiences. Research has demonstrated that students with disabilities must utilise substantial affective resources and energy in adapting to and existing within a disabling academic environment, and are thus required to function at a level not expected from other students (Hopkins, 2011; Howell & Lazarus, 2003; Moriña, 2017). There are resonances here with the affective experiences of some of the black students in this study, such as Anele and Zoliswa, and their efforts to force their way into the racialised campus power geometries. Access fatigue is similar to the concept of "racial battle fatigue" (see Smith et al., 2010), which refers to the psychological (e.g. hopelessness, shock),

physiological (e.g. headache, insomnia), and behavioural responses (e.g. social withdrawal, self-doubt) that students experience when encountering racism on campus. Ultimately, the onus should be on institutional change and not students' adaptations to assimilate into the system (Howell & Lazarus, 2003; Mutanga, 2018). As Dolmage (2017), remarks:

> The system is far too big for agentive choice to cancel the impact of ableism. And the processes by which students and teachers hold on within the system are very rarely the processes by which the system might be dismantled (p. 94).

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided some reflection on what students *do* as they move through a university campus underpinned by the institutional power geometries outlined in the previous chapter. Specifically, I have examined how the students in this study use, navigate, and change campus spaces, exploring the spatial coping strategies and adaptations they employ in their day-to-day lives. These findings illustrate how students create and seek places of belonging outside and inbetween the intended architecture of the university. So much of the identity work students undertake, and arguably certain types of learning, happens beyond formal academic campus spaces. It is in this array of often liminal spaces that many students seek retreat, solace, bonding, connection, comfort and affirmation, and the various affective states needed to become successful university students. These are not the grand places of Solomon's architectural vision, the towering pillars, sweeping vistas, hierarchically arranged lecture venues, meant to inspire – in certain students – an elitist institutional pride and confidence. It is the ordinary and sometimes natural places, tucked away crevices, small patches of lawn, sections of steps, concrete benches, gardens, dams, building foyers, office corners, and residence rooms, which are loaded with layers of affective meaning and rendered significant and pivotal in the enactment of students' daily lives on campus. These

findings illustrate that, while students can find belonging on campus, this process is often at odds with and in spite of mainstream academic activities. This research highlights the need to enhance and support these dynamics and processes of belonging, but also importantly, to consider how they might be promoted within the classrooms, tutorial and lecture venues and other less liminal campus spaces.

Chapter Eight: Concluding Thoughts and Recommendations

This dissertation presented an institutional ethnography of the dynamics of identity and space at UCT. It has examined the identity discourses the participants produce for the institution as both a place of belonging and alienation. Turning to students' own identity constructions in space, the dissertation has explored the interplay of power and space in engendering affective experiences and varied student identity performances and negotiations. Finally, the dissertation has analysed participants' everyday use of space on campus, examining the varied spatial coping strategies students use to negotiate and manage their daily lives on campus. In this concluding chapter, I provide a summary of the chapters in this dissertation. Following this, I consider the theoretical and methodological contributions of this research, as well as the practical implications and recommendations for campus space and institutional policy. I then reflect on some possible directions for future research and present my concluding thoughts.

8.1 Summary of Dissertation

Chapter One contextualised the study and presented an overview of the South African higher education landscape since the dismantling of apartheid in 1994. I briefly outlined the enduring legacy of colonialism and apartheid, as well as processes of neoliberalism and globalisation, which structure the higher education system. I argued that an important way of understanding these power dynamics is through an exploration of identities within higher education institutions. I proposed that in seeking to understand identity and processes of inclusion and exclusion in education contexts, it is vital to consider the institutional space in which identities are formed and sustained. I then introduced and defined the conceptualisation of space that I employ, drawn from critical spatial theory. Finally, I argued for the importance of considering space when researching the ongoing transformation

process of higher education in South Africa, and introduced the aims and research questions examined in this dissertation.

Chapter Two presented a review of the body of literature exploring higher education transformation in South Africa, which encompasses a variety of analytical and theoretical trends. I argued, however, that spatial theorising within this established body of research has been relatively limited. I then presented an examination of spatial theorising in research into higher education internationally. This body of research illustrates the value of considering the role of space in processes of inclusion and exclusion on university campuses, and the enactments of students' identities. I then focused the review on the comparatively limited – but growing – South African scholarship that examines higher education space. This body of work demonstrates the potential when space is considered for nuanced and innovative examinations of the higher education transformation process.

Chapter Three provided a detailed overview of the study design and methodology. I began by outlining the theoretical coordinates underlying the study, specifically critical psychology and anti-racist feminist geography. I then described the research methodology, institutional ethnography, and provided a detailed account of the various data collection methods involved in this ethnographic work. I provided details on the student and staff participants. I gave an overview of the analysis conducted in Chapters Five, Six and Seven, and discussed some ethical considerations. Finally, I presented some considerations on researcher reflexivity, examining, in particular, my own spatial reflexivity as a student within this institution

Chapter Four presented an in-depth background to UCT. In this chapter, I provided an overview of some of the historical and contemporary dynamics of space at UCT. Firstly, I outlined the dominant discourses of the university's elite status in South Africa. I then provided an overview of the process of transformation at UCT, discussing the institutional

landscape and norms under colonialism and apartheid, and then examining the character of post-apartheid transformation at UCT. The rest of the chapter provided detailed background on space at UCT. To this end, I explored the active archive of the institution, giving a detailed account of the history of university space. This chapter concluded with a discussion of contemporary processes for the design, organisation and adaptation of UCT space, highlighting the different ways in which students and staff have recently transformed university space.

Chapters Five, Six, and Seven constituted the analysis section of this dissertation. Chapter Five presented a multimodal discourse analysis of the multiple, contested identities produced for UCT, using the Jameson Plaza as a lens. I analysed the semiotic choices (both textual and visual) participants made in representing the Jameson Plaza. From this I explored the broader identity discourses of the Plaza, connoted throughout the data set, *as a place of belonging and connection* or a *place of alienation and discomfort*. These different Plaza identities are premised on the hegemonic 'whiteness' of the Plaza space, through which students from different categories of identity may experience this place differently. Notably, this chapter built on earlier work which documented the 'whiteness' of Jameson Plaza but attributed the racialised dynamics of space to the greater proportion of white students in the student body (Tredoux et al., 2005). This chapter demonstrated that despite more diverse demographic representation, racialised norms in space persist.

Chapter Six examined the role of space in the power dynamics that influence students' experiences on campus. Drawing on critical spatial theory, I identified the interconnected dimensions of the university's power geometries: *spatial memory and material familiarity*; *material campus symbolism*; and *spatialised social practices and relations*. I then employed a decolonial feminist psychology focus to examine the affective experiences and student identities produced through these three dimensions of institutional

power geometries. I then discussed how these three power geometries worked together to engender the 'vibe' of the university (see Durrheim et al., 2013). This analysis demonstrated the value of analytical concepts of social psychological and critical geography, used in combination, in seeking to understand university students' experiences in space.

In Chapter Seven I analysed the data on how students use, make, navigate, manage and change campus spaces. I focused on students' day-to-day use of space, and specifically the spatial coping strategies, adaptations and tactics students use to negotiate and manage their daily lives on campus. I examined in particular how students *anchor the self in place*; *seek refuge from space and retreat into place*, and *navigate through space, and adapt to place*. This analysis showed how students seek belonging and engage in much of their identity work outside of the formal academic spaces within the university. However, the liminality and marginality of some of these places of belonging must be a concern for the University administration. The findings of this chapter emphasised the need to support these processes of belonging students engage in, but crucially, to examine how they might be enhanced within other academic campus spaces.

In summary, the dynamics of students' identities and affect were considered throughout all three of the analysis chapters. However, each chapter drew on a particular focus and framing to understand the nuances of these psychological constructs on a university campus.

8.2 Theoretical Contributions to the Study of Higher Education Transformation in South Africa

Although research into the transformation of the higher education landscape after the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa is well established, within this body of research theoretical considerations of the dynamics of institutional space, in particular, has received

limited attention (Vincent, 2015). In light of the increasing recognition in recent South African scholarship of the need to foreground space in research into higher education (Dixon & Janks, 2018; Laubscher, 2019; Tumubweinee, 2018; Tumubweinee & Luescher, 2019), this dissertation responds to calls for work that explores how university staff and students experience higher education space (Laubscher, 2019). In the section that follows, I highlight some of the key theoretical findings from this study and argue that these contribute to the body of literature on the interplay between identity and space in higher education contexts in South Africa and internationally.

8.2.1 Belonging and Alienation

A crucial element of higher education transformation in South Africa is the processes of belonging and alienation that play out across university campuses. From within a decolonial feminist, critical spatial framing, this study has sought to examine these complex processes and offer a nuanced, spatially informed, and historically-grounded analysis of the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. A binary understanding of belonging or alienation fails to capture the complexity of students' experience, their negotiation with space and place, and their agency in the creation of other places for themselves on campus.

Firstly, the findings of this study have shown that belonging or alienation is dependent on an *intersection* of students' identities of which space is a crucial dimension. South African research into students' belonging – and most of my own previous work – usually considers single aspects of students' identities when seeking to understand students' experiences in higher education. Although there are many coherences in students' affective experiences on campus, for example, in relation to racialised alienation or belonging, these are always mediated by class, gender, ability, and sexuality. Within these intersections, these experiences are influenced by where students grew up in relation to campus, which schools they attended,

whether they are first-generation university students or not, and their prior familiarity with campus material culture.

Secondly, the findings of this study have illustrated that the same student may experience *both* alienation and belonging across university space and time. Some students perceived the Jameson Plaza as a place of exclusionary 'whiteness', but found the Hiddingh Campus – despite the legacy in its spatial archive of colonial oppression – to be a location of welcoming 'blackness'. Others fled the classed exclusions of the claustrophobic cafeteria but found solace in the campus lawns, the dam, and student leadership offices. Some students noted the predominance of gender-based violence on campus but highlighted the toppling of Jameson's name and the elevation of Sarah Baartman's name to the crowning hall of Upper Campus. Students who are wheelchair users are excluded from regular, easy access to the Main Library by the ableist design and faulty lifts, but found virtual, WhatsApp solidarity with other wheelchair users and places of lunch-time belonging. Even within the same places on campus, participants experienced both alienation and belonging. Residences for example, which contain stigmatising representations in the stained glass of their dining halls and were named after figures of colonial oppression, could also offer welcoming and much-loved bedrooms over which students felt ownership and pride. It is vital to examine the work students do in seeking to engender affirming, comfortable places on campus, which may not be as simple as occupying a state of *either* belonging *or* alienation. However, in most instances in this study, these places of belonging were created outside of dominant academic space, and it is essential to understand how these processes may be supported and enhanced across campus space. Students display significant agency in their affective experiences of UCT; however, the responsibility for creating a welcoming campus should not rest on students alone.

8.2.2 Student Identities

Related to this nonbinary, agentic, spatialised understanding of students' affective experiences on campus is a fluid, nuanced conceptualisation of students' identities. Much South African research on university students' experiences relies on uniform, static and deterministic representations of students' identities, which risks pathologising students and ignoring their agentic potential (Kapp & Bangeni, 2020). Through an examination of varied multimodal data produced by students, this study sought to highlight the complex identity work students undertake in their daily lives on campus. This dissertation has explored how – far from being stable or fixed – student identities are influenced by the institutional power geometries at play at UCT. As discussed above, these interlocking dimensions of power in university space engender a particular campus vibe and affective experience, which result in various identity performances and constructions. Within the ongoing and contested transformation of the South African higher education landscape, students' identities are fractured, multiple, spatially contingent and open to constant (re)negotiation. Students may perform many different, sometimes contradictory, identities throughout their university days. Although students may find the dominant student identity expected and supported within certain places on campus alienating or exclusionary, they can seek spaces on campus in which they can 'be themselves' and perform an affirming student identity.

8.2.3 Understandings of 'University Space'

In the dominant discourses in higher education policy in South Africa, space is defined as an object to be filled, a backdrop to rather than an active participant in the constitution of everyday social relations on university campuses (Tumubweinee & Luescher, 2019). This study has sought to contribute to the growing body of work advancing alternative understandings of university space that foreground the agency of space and its active

participation in the transformation process (Tumubweinee & Luescher, 2019). Drawing on decolonial feminist theory, this study has illustrated the complexity of university space, by demonstrating the varied and often contradictory identity discourses that are produced for a singular place on campus. These identity discourses vary, depending on the interplay between broader national, historical and institutional discourses and the intersecting identities of the students whose bodies occupy these places. Although some identity discourses produced for university space may be harder to shift than others, recognising the constructed nature of discourses of university space allows for the imagination of other, more liberatory identities of campus places, and the social relations within them (Matus & Talburt, 2009).

Furthermore, this study has highlighted the importance of considering power when seeking to understand university space. In elucidating the interlocking geometries of power of the UCT campus, this study has considered both how campus space is imbued with power, and simultaneously, that power dynamics on campus always contain an element of spatiality (Massey, 2009). Specifically, the location of UCT within the city and apartheid spatial legacy; the dominant material and symbolic culture on campus; and the spatialised social norms, illustrate the agency of space in the constitution of students' daily lives. Finally and crucially, this study has highlighted how university space – although an active participant in dynamics of the institution – may be changed, challenged, (re)formed and renegotiated both by students in their day-to-day use of campus space and by student and staff activism and advocacy at the broader policy level.

8.3 Methodological Contributions

Research participants may struggle to articulate experiences of space (Beyes & Michels, 2014; Cox, 2011; Massey, 2005; Shields, 2006). Research that examines the processes of transformation of higher education space requires innovative techniques

alongside traditional research methods (Beyes & Michels, 2014; Ferrare & Apple, 2010; Gildersleeve & Kuntz, 2011). Thus, through an institutional ethnography, I have employed a diversity of data collection methods to examine the interplay between identity and space in education settings, and to contribute towards the deepening of theoretical understandings of higher education transformation in South Africa. While much South African research into higher education transformation relies on traditional methods such as focus groups, interviews or statistical analysis, this study has demonstrated the value of varied, multi-layered data collection processes. Ella's experience of campus space, for example, was impossible to capture in sufficient depth through a focus group alone. Both the manifold photo-stories she produced and the roving interview she participated in, were necessary to adequately convey the extensive detailed knowledge of micro-materialities of campus space necessary for Ella to negotiate university space daily as a wheelchair user. This is not, of course, to suggest that more traditional methods do not have their place. The reflective map Siya produced, for example, would have been difficult to analyse without the context provided in the focus group by his description of his experiences of profound alienation. Thus, I argue not for abandoning traditional methods, but for using these various techniques together to deepen understandings of educational space.

8.4 Practical Contributions and Recommendations for Campus Space and Institutional Policy

Institutional policymakers must consider the perspectives of students and staff, particularly those who face various forms of marginalisation, if they are to work towards further higher education transformation and develop welcoming and enriching campus spaces (Muñoz, 2009; Samura, 2016a). Thus, based on the ethnographic work conducted in this

study, I offer some reflections and recommendations which I hope may be of interest to the various groups within UCT who deal with campus space:

- The study shows that many of the recent transformation efforts focused on space at the university have benefited the student body and been well-received by the participants. For example, it is arguably due to the re-curation of artwork on campus by the ATT and WOAC that participants did not express the heightened levels of alienation regarding stigmatising representations of blackness in artworks that has been demonstrated in prior academic research (see Cornell et al., 2016; Kessi, 2019);. Ramabina Mahapa's experience in his undergraduate years (see Mahapa, 2014); and the findings of the ATT audit (ATT, 2016). The participants, at worst did not notice, or at best, were actively inspired by the new curation of artwork on campus. The one exception emerging in this study was the colonial representations of black slaves in the stained-glass windows in the Smuts Residence dining hall, which admittedly, as windows, may be outside of the WOAC's ambit. Similarly, the recent re-naming of buildings, such as the change from Jameson Memorial Hall to Sarah Baartman Memorial Hall, was actively supported by most participants. I would suggest that Smuts Hall Residence might be next on the list of buildings considered for a name change.
- Participants' favourite academic buildings on campus were overwhelming those that had been recently constructed with more contemporary design, such as the New Lecture Theatre on Upper Campus. This suggests that the Properties and Service Department is responsive and attuned to the current educational needs of students in their construction and design of new campus buildings. Admittedly, there are financial and heritage constraints placed on the retrofitting of the older buildings, but

perhaps further attention should be paid to adapting some of the older buildings on campus.

- Participants – even those who experience a great deal of marginalisation – found ways of belonging on campus, predominantly outside of formal academic spaces. I would recommend the institution seeks ways to support processes of belonging across more spaces on campus.
- Residence spaces, specifically, were noted as comfortable, welcoming places of belonging for many – mainly black students. This is notable because much previous research has demonstrated that residence spaces are often sites of oppression and exclusion (see Jagessar & Msibi, 2015; Kiguwa & Langa, 2017; Moguerane, 2007). At UCT in particular, there has been much research devoted to examining racialised segregation in residences (Schrieff et al., 2005, 2010; Kim, 2015). The findings of this study seem to suggest that some of these earlier interventions may have had some success in changing residence spaces at UCT. This could be a direction for future research to explore in more detail.
- Participants also found great solace in natural spaces on campus. If possible, the campus landscape architects, horticulturalists and gardeners should be encouraged to create more such spaces.
- The Disability Unit was experienced as supportive and helpful by the participant in this study who made use of their services. Nonetheless, although this is admittedly the experience of a single wheelchair user on campus, this participant's data demonstrated several changes, both small and large, to campus space that would improve her student experience. (Admittedly, these may be outside of the scope and responsibility of the Disability Unit itself.) It is clear that UCT should seriously consider how the Main Library can be made more accessible to wheelchair users. There are also simple

changes, for example the inclusion of bag hooks at different heights in bathroom stalls and the lowering of the latches on certain doors that would significantly ease the daily life of wheelchair users on campus.

- Overall, the institution, staff and students in various ways, both formally and informally, at the individual and policy level, and with varying degrees of success, have done much work and expended great effort in improving, adapting and transforming institutional space, particularly in the wake of the student protests. These efforts should be acknowledged and commended. However, there is certainly much left to do. Transformation is a process, and institutional complacency should be discouraged.

8.5 Directions for Future Research

The findings for this study mostly refer to the students' experiences on the main Groote Schuur Campus. Although there were participants who attend classes on the Health Sciences and Hiddingh Campuses, and some discussion of space at these campuses was included, it was not possible to explore in equal depth the particularities of space across all four UCT campuses. Future research might offer a spatial reading of the dynamics unique to these other campuses. Tied to this, as discussed in the section outlining participant recruitment, most of the participants were drawn from the Faculty of Humanities. Future work might look in more detail at the experiences of students from other faculties.

I conducted this institutional ethnography at a historically white-only English-medium South African university, built within a particular historical context, colonial architectural tradition and location within the city. I feel the findings of this study will have relevance to and resonance with other South African higher education institutions, particularly those other historically white-only, English medium institutions which are similarly overrun with

columns, pediments and staggered stone steps, and have similar institutional cultures. However, beyond the institutions with a similar a historical legacy, it would be interesting to compare the findings of this case study to the dynamics of space and identity at the historically black-only and historically white-only Afrikaans-medium universities. What form might the institutional power geometries take at the historically black-only University of the Western Cape situated far outside of the leafy, affluent Southern Suburbs; or at the historically white-only Afrikaans-medium Stellenbosch University situated within a university town in the Cape Winelands, and with its own tradition of names and artwork honouring racist, colonial figures; or within some of the former technikons, such as the Cape Peninsula University of Technology with one of its campuses located in District Six, a site of apartheid-era forced removals?

Many changes to space occurred throughout the four-year course of this ethnography. While I have managed to observe and reflect on some of the ways that these spatial transformations have influenced students' experiences, it would be valuable to consider the longer-term impact of some of these changes. Students who enrolled in the university for the first time this year – a population of students I did not sample as the data collection stage of this study was conducted between 2017 and 2019 – are the first group of students who will only ever be exposed to the WOAC's re-curation of campus artwork and will only ever write their exams and graduate in the Sarah Baartman Hall. What the cumulative and sustained effect of these changes might be remains to be seen and would be an interesting avenue for future research.

Furthermore, perhaps one of the most significant events to change, impact and reconstitute the use of higher education space globally occurred in the final write-up stage of this dissertation. The COVID-19 pandemic resulted in a national lockdown in South Africa from 26 March 2020. Higher education institutions nationally were closed, and all academic

activities on UCT campuses ceased. All UCT students, including those in residences, were required to vacate UCT premises. The remainder of the academic year – for most of the student body – will be completed remotely. This move to remote teaching has raised concerns about inequitable access to the electronic devices, data, electricity and home spaces needed for remote teaching. Difficulties with remote learning have also been compounded by the ongoing power outages[58] affecting South Africa. Attempts were made to provide students who needed them with laptops and data. However, how students can engage with the remote learning process is inevitably inequitable. I wonder what form students' learning takes when they are excluded from the many places of belonging they create on campus. I think here of Amanda – for example – who described in Chapter Five the lack of space in her house on the Cape Flats and the freedom her own room in her residence has given her. There are undeniably many other students in similar positions. At the time of writing, although the phased return of certain students to campus has begun, the 2020 academic year has undoubtedly engendered a new institutional, spatial dynamic unlike any in living memory. Analysis of these recent changes was beyond the scope of this study, but I believe critical spatial theorising on the impact of this pandemic on higher education in this country will be crucial.

8.6 Concluding Thoughts

The race, class, ability, religious and gender diversity of students who have passed through the spaces and places of UCT since the introduction of the new democratic dispensation in South Africa would have been unimaginable, not just in the early days of the SAC in the Cape Colony in the 1800s, but in the final years of the apartheid dispensation in

[58] Eskom, the embattled South African electricity public utility, has since 2007 introduced 'load shedding' which involves planned rolling blackouts on a rotating schedule, at times where short supply threatens the integrity of the grid. Load shedding was implemented with increasing frequency at the beginning of 2020, was suspended at the beginning of the lockdown period, but has recently been re-implemented.

the late 1980s. While this demographic diversity, which has only been the status quo for 25 years out of the 191-year lifetime of this institution, is commendable and promising, it is clear that many other changes are required. Although, particularly since the wave of student protests, various currents of change are certainly underway, the transformation process in its various forms must be continuously examined and pursued and always firmly on the university's agenda. To this end, continued research on the contested and ongoing higher education transformation process – and the new forms that education inclusion and exclusion might take – is vital for the creation of a South African higher education system rooted in equality and justice.

This dissertation has sought to illustrate that within the scholarship, policies and broader attention to higher education transformation, space is an essential component to consider. Understanding space is vital for elucidating how universities work, and ultimately for determining how they may be transformed into more welcoming institutions (Dixon & Janks, 2018). Furthermore, the spaces and places of universities are inseparable from the bodies within them (Dolmage, 2017), and spaces and the identities of the various students, staff and other campus are in a constant interplay.

UCT's four campuses form a spatial palimpsest of the varied histories, lives, people, events and experiences of this complex city. The social and political systems of the past have etched onto the university landscape particular legacies of meaning-making and dominant ways of being. At UCT, high up the mountain looking out over the city, a literal embodiment of the 'ivory tower' cliché, the students and staff of today have inherited a campus founded on, funded by and built through innumerable forms of colonial oppression. Students and staff are learning, teaching, feeling, creating, and living within this ambivalent inheritance. While the symbols and spaces of the past reassert themselves, students and staff of the present can variously occupy them, remove them, retrofit them, change them, renovate them, move them,

or ignore them. UCT's campuses are rooted within multiple and changing layers of meaning, where the past and present live side-by-side, in a continual push and pull between an elitist and often oppressive status quo and the possibility of liberatory change.

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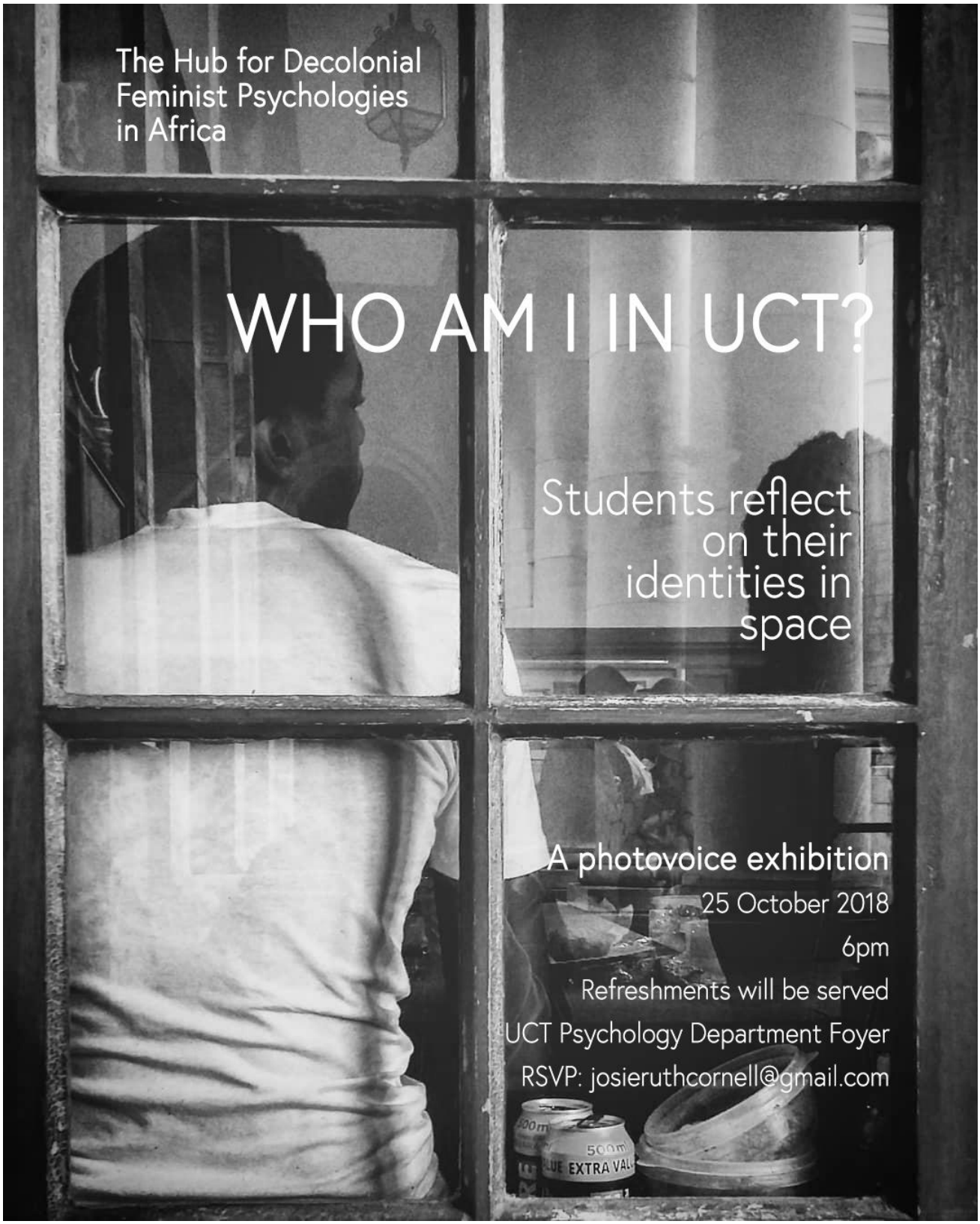
Appendix A

Interview Schedule - Focus Groups

- Please describe your identity?
- Which campus spaces do you spend the most time in on campus? And why?
- Do you feel different in different spaces on campus? Why or why not?
- How do you think campus space has been ‘transformed’ or stayed the same in the years since the dismantling of apartheid?
- Please tell me about space on campus?
- Please could you describe how you feel in different campus spaces?
- If you could change campus spaces, which spaces would you change? How would you change them? And Why?

Appendix B

Photovoice Exhibition Poster



Appendix C

Interview Schedule - Roving Interviews

- Please describe your identity.
- Can you please show me some of the places that you spend time in?
- What do you like about these places?
- If you could do anything, what would you change about campus space?

Appendix D

Interview Schedule - Student Surveys

- What is your identity?
- Please describe in a paragraph where you would spend your time on a typical day on campus.
- What are some of your favourite spaces on campus? Why?
- Which spaces on campus do you avoid? Why?
- If you could re-design, change or add to any aspect of campus space, what would you do?
- What do you think of the re-naming of Jameson Hall as the Sarah Baartman Hall?
- Please create your personal reflective map of campus space. How you create this map is up to you and open to creativity. I would like you to depict how you see, feel and experience campus. This could involve showing how you use campus space, where you spend time on campus, and what you think and feel in different campus spaces. You can use text, drawing, photography.

Appendix E

Interview Schedule: Properties and Services Architect

- Could you describe briefly what your job entails?
- When you are designing or refurbishing a particular space, what is the process that you go through?
- Do you think that it's important to transform or decolonise the physical University campus?
- What would your ideal University space look like?
- What is your impression of space at UCT?

Appendix F

Interview Schedule - Properties and Services Landscape Architect

- Could you describe briefly what your job entails?
- What considerations do you take into account when designing space? Do you take into account the decolonisation or transformation of space in that process?
- Do you think that it's important to transform or decolonise the physical University campus?
- What would your ideal University space look like?
- What is your impression of space at UCT?

Appendix G

Interview Schedule: Disability Unit Staff Member

- Could please tell me about your role and the work of the Disability Unit?
- How long has the Disability Unit been operating?
- Was there a particular catalyst for the establishment of the Unit?
- What do you think the Disability Unit does well?
- How is your work received by other departments and the University as a whole?
- Are there any things that you might like to do differently in your Unit?
- Are there any barriers that you experience to your work?
- What are some of the most accessible spaces on campus?
- Which spaces do you think need improvement?
- If you had an unlimited budget and free reign what would you do?
- Is there anything you want people to know about the work that the Disability Unit does?

Appendix H

Interview Schedule: Naming of Buildings Committee Member

- What was the motivation for the establishment of this committee?
- Why is it important to rename buildings?
- How do you think the names of buildings impacts the people (staff and students) that use those buildings?
- How does the committee decide which buildings to rename?
- Can you talk me through the process?
- Which specific buildings have been the focus of this process?
- Why were these buildings chosen to be renamed?
- When do you think a name doesn't need to be changed?
- What kinds of challenges has the Committee experienced in the process of renaming buildings?
- What would you like people to know about the work of this Committee?
- What do you think people would find surprising about the work of this Committee?

Appendix I

Interview Schedule: Works of Art Committee Member

- Could please tell me about the role and work of the WOAC?
- Why was the WOAC established?
- How is membership on the WOAC decided?
- Is there student representation on the WOAC?
- How do you decide what artwork will be displayed and where? Could you please talk me through this process?
- How does the artwork displayed in university space impact the experiences of the people that use that space?
- What do you think the role of artwork on campus is?

Appendix J

Interview Schedule: Staff Member Involved in Memorialisation Project

- Please can you tell me about the memorialisation project?
- What is your impression of space at UCT?
- What would your ideal campus space look like?
- How do you think space influences the everyday functioning of the University?

Appendix K

Interview Schedule: Former SRC President

- Do you think that considering the actual physical space of the campus is important when transforming or trying to transform or decolonise a University?
- Can you please tell me about what you did to try to change campus space?
- What would your ideal University space look like?

Appendix L

Interview Schedule: Special Advisor on Transformation to the Vice-Chancellor

- Do you think that considering the actual physical space of the campus is important when transforming or trying to transform or decolonise a University?
- Can you please tell me about your work as the Special Advisor on transformation to the Vice-Chancellor?
- What was the motivation for the establishment of these various Task Teams?
- How do you think space influences the everyday functioning of the University?
- What is your impression of space at UCT?
- What would your ideal campus space look like?

Appendix M

Table 9

Online Survey Participant Details

Self-described identity	Faculty	Discipline	Level of study
"South African"	Humanities	Psychology	1st year undergraduate (UG)
"South African"	Humanities	Organisational Psychology	3rd year UG
"Heterosexual female"	Humanities	Psychology, Sociology & Social Development	2nd year UG
"Muslim"	Humanities	Psychology	1st year UG
"Student"	Humanities	Bachelor of Social Science	1st year UG
"Someone who prefers to be inside. Only goes outside for smokes."	Commerce	Information Systems & Psychology	2nd year UG
"Christian"	Humanities	Psychology & Gender Studies	2nd year UG
"Female"	Humanities	Bachelor of Social Science	2nd year UG
"Female"	Humanities	Bachelor of Social Science	3rd year UG
"Female"	Law	Law & Psychology	2nd year UG
"Female student"	Humanities	Psychology & Environmental & Geographical Sciences	2nd year UG
"White heterogenous (sic) female"	Humanities	Psychology and Organisational Psychology	3rd year UG

“Female”	Humanities	Bachelor of Social Science	3rd year UG
“White female student-athlete (I don't know if this is what I should be putting here?)”	Humanities	Fine Art & Psychology	2nd year UG
“Female”	Humanities	Social Work	1st year UG
“Female, Indian South African”	Humanities	Social Development & Psychology	3rd year UG
“I am a coloured Muslim female.”	Humanities	Psychology	4th year UG
“Female”	Humanities	Psychology	1st year UG
“African”	Health Sciences	Audiology	2nd year UG
“I am a 19-year-old South African (A Capetonian to be exact)”	Humanities	Bachelor of Social Sciences	1st year UG
“She/Her? Black? This question needs to be more specific.”	Humanities	Psychology	1st year UG
“Caucasian bisexual cis woman”	Humanities	Sociology & Psychology	2nd year UG
“Female”	Humanities	Psychology	3rd year UG
“African male”	Humanities	Philosophy & Psychology	2nd year UG
“White, 21-year-old female”	Humanities	Bachelor of Social Science	3rd year UG
“Cis-gendered white heterosexual female”	Health Sciences	Human Physiology, Anatomy & Psychology	3rd year UG
“Female”	Humanities	Bachelor of Social Sciences	1st year UG
“I am 18 years old. I am a coloured female. I believe that I am kind l, hardworking and honest. However, I do get agitated quickly. I like long drives to new places and spontaneous company from friends and family. I consider myself as an introvert but become quite extroverted when I find myself	Health Sciences	Occupational Therapy	1st year UG

between people I feel comfortable with."			
"I am a female"	Health Sciences	Speech-Language Pathology	1st year UG
"I am a 20 year old girl who is from Joburg but studying at UCT, with the goal of becoming a teacher."	Humanities	History & Psychology	2nd year UG
"African"	Health Sciences	Speech-Language Pathology	2nd year UG
"Coloured"	Humanities	Psychology	4th year UG
"South African. White. Female."	Law	Law	2nd year UG
"Female"	Humanities	Social Work	1st year UG
"Black female individual"	Humanities	Social Work	1st year UG
"A woman of colour"	Humanities	Politics & Psychology	3rd year UG
"Not sure what you mean by this"	Humanities	Psychology	2nd year UG
"Male"	Humanities	Politics & Psychology	1st year UG
"uhm... white female?"	Humanities	English & Psychology	3rd year UG
[Gave their name]	Humanities	Psychology	1st year UG
"Female"	Commerce	Business Science	2nd year UG
"Girl"	Humanities	Social Work	1st year UG
"African"	Health Sciences	Audiology	1st year UG
"Female, white"	Humanities	Psychology	3rd year UG

Appendix N

Ethical Clearance Letter

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Department of Psychology

University of Cape Town Rondebosch 7701 South Africa
Telephone (021) 650 3417
Fax No. (021) 650 4104

16 October 2017

Josephine Cornell
Department of Psychology
University of Cape Town
Rondebosch 7701

Dear Josephine

I am pleased to inform you that ethical clearance has been given by an Ethics Review Committee of the Faculty of Humanities for your study, Dynamics of Identity and Space: An institutional ethnographic case study of a transforming University. The reference number is PSY2017-050.

I wish you all the best for your study.

Yours sincerely

Signature Removed

University of Cape Town
PSYCHOLOGY DEPARTMENT
Upper Campus
Rondebosch

Lauren Wild (PhD)
Associate Professor
Chair: Ethics Review Committee

Appendix O

Focus Group/Individual Interview Informed Consent Form

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Department of Psychology

Dynamics of Identity and Space in Higher Education

–Individual Interview Consent –

You are invited to take part in an interview/focus group on identity and space in higher education. We are researchers from the Department of Psychology at University of Cape Town.

1. **Procedures**

We are asking you to participate in a focus group discussion/individual interview. This discussion will focus on *issues of identity and space*. It will take place on Upper Campus at the University of Cape Town and will last between 60 and 90 minutes. The group discussion/interview will be audio recorded. The tape recording will be transcribed.

2. **Inconveniences and Benefits**

We don't expect that you will be distressed by the group discussion but if it does become distressing or uncomfortable you may stop participating at any time without any negative consequences. If you become distressed, we will refer you for counselling, if necessary. You are given an opportunity to share your views and experiences and what you tell us is also likely to help in formulating other research projects and transformation activities at UCT or in higher education in general. You are given an opportunity to tell us and others what is important to you and for others who have similar experiences.

3. **Privacy and confidentiality**

We will take strict precautions to safeguard your personal information throughout the study. Your information will be kept in a locked file cabinet in the principal researcher's office without your name and or other personal identifiers. In the group discussions, what you say will be heard by other members of the group but we will ask participants to respect confidentiality in the groups. We have no control over what other group members will say outside the group – so be aware that full confidentiality of the group discussions cannot be guaranteed. The group

discussions will be digitally recorded and these files will be stored on the principal researcher's computer and will be protected by a password. Some of this research may be published in academic journals or presented at conferences but your identity will be protected at all times.

4. **Contact details**

   If you have further questions or concerns about the study please contact the Project leader at the Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town: Josephine Cornell on 0823615603 or her supervisor Dr Shose Kessi on 021 650 4606. If you have any issues or problems regarding this research or your rights as a research participant and would like to speak to the Chair of the Ethics committee, please contact Mrs Rosalind Adams at the Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town (UCT), 021 650 3417. If you understand all the procedures and the risks and benefits of the study and you would like to participate in the project, please sign below:

1. Agreement for Participation:

If you understand all the procedures and the risks and benefits of the study and you would like to participate in the project, please sign below:

Participant Name: ……..
Participant Signature: ……..
Date: ……

2. Agreement for Tape-Recording:

3.

I agree to have my voice tape-recorded in the focus group discussions/interviews.

Participant Name: ……..
Participant Signature: ……..
Date: ……

Appendix P

Photovoice Study Informed Consent Form

Department of Psychology

Dynamics of Identity and Space in Higher Education

– Study Consent Form –

You are invited to take part in a Photovoice research project on identity and space in higher education. We are researchers from the Department of Psychology at University of Cape Town.

1. **Procedures**

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you decide to take part in the study you will be expected to do the following:

- Participate in focus groups with the researchers as well as the other participants in the research project. During the focus group, we will talk about the research theme, which is identity and space in higher education. This will take place in the Psychology Department at UCT and will not last longer than 90 minutes. The meetings and discussions will be audio recorded but we will make sure that your identity is protected in any of the information that we use from these discussions.
- Participate in a personal mapping exercise, which requires you to draw your experiences of space at UCT.
- Participate in a 1-day photography training workshop by a professional photographer who will teach you how to use a digital camera and how to take good pictures and/or films. This training will take place in the Psychology Department at UCT.
- Take still and/or moving images relating to issues of identity and space as a student at UCT and construct a written or audio narrative to accompany the images. You will be given a camera to use for one week. Edit your work into a final digital story production.
- Display your work in an exhibition open to the public.

2. **Inconveniences and Benefits**

We don't expect that you will be distressed by the research but if it does become distressing you may stop participating at any time without any negative consequences. If you become distressed by any of the procedures in this project we will refer you for counselling, if necessary.

You may withdraw from the study at any time. You are given an opportunity to share your views and experiences and what you tell us is also likely to help in formulating other research projects and transformation activities at UCT or in higher education in general. You are given an opportunity to tell us and others what is important to you and for others who have similar experiences. You will also receive training in digital photography and exhibit your digital production in a public exhibition. Your work may also appear in other media and/or photography outlets.

3. **Privacy and confidentiality**

We will take strict precautions to safeguard your personal information throughout the study. Your information will be kept in a locked file cabinet in the principal researcher's office without your name and or other personal identifiers. In the focus group discussions, what you say will be heard by other members of the group and we will ask participants to respect confidentiality in the groups. We have no control over what other group members will say outside the group – so be aware that full confidentiality of the group discussions cannot be guaranteed. The group discussions, meetings and interviews will all be digitally recorded and these files will be stored on the principal researcher's computer and will be protected by a password. Some of this research may be published in academic journals or presented at conferences but your identity will be protected at all times.

4. **Contact details**

If you have further questions or concerns about the study please contact the Project Leader at the Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town:
Josephine Cornell on 0823615603 or her supervisor Dr Shose Kessi on 021 650 4606.
If you have any issues or problems regarding this research or your rights as a research participant and would like to speak to the Chair of the Ethics committee, please contact Mrs Rosalind Adams at the Department of Psychology, University of Cape Town (UCT), 021 650 3417.

1. Agreement for Participation:

If you understand all the procedures and the risks and benefits of the study and you would like to participate in the project, please sign below:

Participant Name: ……..
Participant Signature: ……..
Date: ……

2. Agreement for Tape-Recording:

I agree to have my voice tape-recorded in the focus group discussions/interviews.

Participant Name: ……..

Participant Signature: ……..

Date: ……

Appendix Q

Confidentiality Waiver

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

Department of Psychology

Dynamics of Identity and Space in Higher Education

–Individual Interview Name Consent –

You participated in an interview on identity and space in higher education. This consent form gives your permission for the use of your name in the public dissemination of the research data i.e. in the dissertation document, other publications and conferences presentations.

Agreement for the use of Name:

If you consent that your name should be used and that you will not be assigned a pseudonym, please sign below:

Participant Name: ……..

Participant Signature: ……..

Date: ……